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Vol. 56, No. 4 Whole Number 460

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—Brilliant Mrs. Jewel Stradford Rogers, wife of John W. Rogers, who holds a doctor of laws from the Chicago Law School, has packed a wealth of experience into her twenty-six years. She herself holds a doctor of laws degree from the University of Chicago as well as an A. B. from Oberlin college. She was the first colored woman to be an attorney on the staff of the Legal Aid Bureau of Chicago, Ill.; and she is on the board of directors of the Cook County Bar Association, a member of the National Association of Women Lawyers and the Illinois Women's Bar Association, and the first colored woman ever admitted to the Chicago Bar Association. Mrs. Rogers also holds the following secretaryships: Chicago branch of the NAACP, Oberlin Women's Club, and the Professional Women's Club. Mrs. Rogers' grandfather, now deceased, was a lawyer; and so is her father.

•

JAMES M. ROSBROW, a frequent contributor to the magazines, lives in Wilmington, Delaware.

•

CLIFFORD R. MOORE, a 34-year-old veteran who served as an artillery officer in Italy, is law clerk to Federal Judge Phillip Forman of Trenton, N. J., and chairman of the publicity committee of the New Jersey State Conference of NAACP Branches.

•

GEORGE PADMORE, who lives in London, England, is already well known to *Crisis* readers. Mr. Padmore's newest book on colonial problems, published in London in March and scheduled for publication here in the fall, is entitled *Africa: Britain's Third Empire.* The book is an over-all survey of the colonial problem in British Africa.

•

DORIS CALLAHAN is a free-lance writer and lives in New York City.

•

ARTHUR E. BURKE (who reviews *The Poetry of the Negro,* page 122) is associate professor of English at Hampton Institute, Va., and a frequent contributor to our pages.

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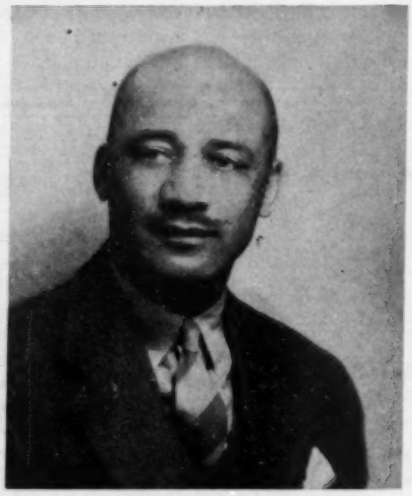

ALLEN E. WEATHERFORD
Ph.D., Pennsylvania State College

Allen E. Weatherford, professor of health and physical education at NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM, is the first Negro to receive a Ph.D. in health, physical education, and recreation from Pennsylvania State college.

One hundred and thirty-seven persons made the honor roll at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY for the fall semester ending January, 1949, according to the list issued by the dean's office. Nine persons had straight A-averages.

Students at the NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF EDUCATION observed Negro history week with a week-long series of cultural programs featuring Negro artists, educators, historians, and students of Negro life.

The office of public relations of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) issues a *Public Relations News Letter* outlining the needs of the institution. The current request to the legislature is for six million dollars, and in addition to the budget items for general administration, instruction, etc., four and a half millions are asked for capital outlay in new buildings, sites, and other facilities. The request also includes funds for the operation of the Dalton (Mo.) vocational school, which has been under the supervision of the board of curators of Lincoln since 1929.

On February 9 faculty and students gave generously of blood donations as a memorial to S/Sgt. James (Jimmy) Stewart, former Lincoln journalism student who died in Calcutta, India, during World War II. The memorial was sponsored by the university chapter of the American Red Cross.

National Negro newspaper week was observed with special programs under the auspices of the school of journalism February 27-March 5. Theodore McMillan, Lincoln graduate now studying law at St. Louis university, has attained distinction as being the first Negro to be appointed to Alpha Sigma Mu, national Jesuit honor fraternity.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE is seeking $150,000 for equipment, remodeling, and refurnishing of buildings, as well as enlargement of its gymnasium.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY is featured in the February 19 issue of *The Saturday Evening Post* in an article by Henry F. and Katherine Pringle. The article is entitled "America's Leading Negro University."

MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART observed interracial justice week February 27-March 5. On March 2 the debating club of the college presented a panel on minority problems, discussing such topics as anti-semitism, restrictive covenants, anti-lynching legislation, and the inequality of job opportunities.

When ROLLINS COLLEGE, Winter Park, Florida, awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Humanities to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune at its midwinter convocation on February 21, it was the first time an honorary degree had been conferred on a Negro by a southern white college. Mrs. Bethune, founder and president-emeritus of Bethune-Cookman college, Daytona Beach, Florida, is also founder and president of the National Council of Negro Women.

At a regional conference of the AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS meeting in San Francisco in February, Professor Allison Davis, of the University of Chicago, presented a provocative paper challenging the intelligence testing procedures used in schools. He blasted the accepted doc-

trine that the customary tests for the I.Q.'s of children are valid, and charged that the nation's schools have been using intelligence tests which are poor measures of real, innate intelligence.

On the eve of her twenty-first birthday, Beryl Dickinson-Dash, third-year arts student at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, was crowned queen of the McGill winter carnival by Montreal's Mayor Camillien Houde. Miss Dickinson-Dash was elected queen by a secret ballot of McGill's 8,000 students from among a bevy of twenty-five beautiful contestants.

The division of engineering and industrial education at Tennessee State College announces the addition of a course in upholstering as part of its specialized trade training program. Negro newspaper week was observed at the college on March 4, with addresses by Lewis O. Swingler, editor of the *Memphis World*, and Nathaniel D. Williams, popular Memphis columnist.

Shaw University observed Negro history week with a series of programs and speakers including Yvonne Prunty, a senior of North Fork, West Va.; James Godbolt, a junior of Boston, Mass.; and Jonathon Brown, a junior of Brooklyn, N. Y. N.

A. Pitts, chairman of the social science division, is on leave for the second semester to complete work for the doctorate at Catholic university, Washington, D. C.

Additions to the part-time instructional staff of the college include: Mrs. R. P. Daniel, consultant in religious education, of the department of religious promotion, who teaches a course in personal counseling; W. L. Cash, secretary of the North Carolina YMCA extension plan, a course in student religious work sentiment; John R. Larkins, consultant on Negro work with the state department of welfare, a course in juvenile delinquency; Dr. G. W. Watkins, retired Baptist minister, course in modern church history and history of Christian missions; Rabbi Harry Caplan, of Temple Beth Or, courses in Hebrew language and Jewish religion and history; and Dr. S. C. Mayo, a course in statistics.

When President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University was elected to the board of directors of the community chest in Nashville, Tenn., on January 25, it marked the first time that any Negro has been named to the board of directors of a community chest in any southern city.

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Sara Southall is a new addition to the department of social sciences as visiting lecturer in industrial relations and personnel problems. Miss Southall, a native of Tennessee, is a graduate of Vanderbilt university and is best known for her work in the fields of personnel management, race relations, and civil rights. The other new member of the staff is Ross Lomanitz, new associate professor of physics. Mr. Lomanitz is a graduate of the University of Oklahoma and will receive his Ph.D. from Cornell university in June.

A painting of a Haitian street scene by the prominent American artist Angelo di Benedetto has been presented to the university by William Benton, publisher and chairman of the board of directors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. The gift was prompted by Mr. Benton's high regard for President Charles S. Johnson, with whom Mr. Benton served at the first general conference of UNESCO in Paris. *Haiti Post Office* was painted by Mr. Bendetto during a six-month stay in Haiti.

Eighth annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists will be held at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY April 3-May 1. Purpose of the exhibit is to present the best creative works by living Negro artists, to encourage Negro artists to achieve a high standard of work, to bring to light latent talent, and to increase an appreciation of the fine arts. Only original paintings are eligible for the exhibition.

A gift of approximately five hundred books from the library of the late Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes has been made to the university by the heirs of Mr. Hughes.

Among recent speakers at the university have been Dr. Maurice Davie, Yale sociologist, who spoke on Negro migration from the South; Professor William Leo Hansberry, Howard historian, who spoke on the development of civilization in ancient and medieval Africa; Donald Grant, a former lecturer for the British Ministry of Education, who spoke on new developments in Asia; and Bishop Richard R. Wright, Jr., of the sixth Episcopal district of the AME church, who spoke on conquering our physical and social environment.

Dr. L. S. Curtis, of St. Louis, Mo., has been added to the faculty as a guest professor in economics. Dr. Curtis will teach courses in the school of business administration.

First in a series of colorful exhibits on "Peoples Around the World" opened in the foyer of the university

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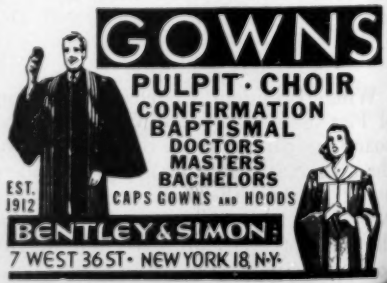

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library in February. On exhibit are samples of wood sculpture, weaving, leather-work, clothing, jewelry, from the Orient, Liberia, Spain, Mexico, France, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and other countries of Europe.

Annual ministers and missionaries conference was held at the AMERICAN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY March 7-11, with meetings centered around the general theme, "The Techniques of the Church in Promoting Christian Living."

A photographic exhibit on the protestant revolution, prepared by the editors of *Life* magazine, was on view in the SPELMAN COLLEGE library during February. Included in the showing were reproductions of the first illustrated edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the first complete Bible in English, as well as Martin Luther's German translation of the Old Testament.

Felix Payant, editor of *Design* magazine and a former member of the faculty of Ohio State university, has joined the faculty of Spelman for the coming semester to conduct courses in experimental problems in the arts. Sir Hubert Wilkins, famed explorer, gave an illustrated lecture at the college in February on conditions in the arctic regions.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE celebrated eighty-second founder's day on February 18. Principal speakers for the occasion were James A. Colston, president of Georgia State college; and C. Wallace Hawkins, executive secretary of the Cleveland, Ohio, Cedar Avenue branch YMCA. Both men are distinguished Morehouse alumni. President Mays made an official announcement at the founder's day banquet of the launching of a three million dollar campaign to increase the physical plant and the endowment of the college.

Fourth annual institute on successful marriage and family life was held at Morehouse March 16-18, under sponsorship of the department of sociology. Sessions of the institute were addressed by experts in the field of marriage and family relations.

Religious emphasis week was observed at the college the week of March, with the services being conducted by Rev. L. V. Booth, pastor of the First Baptist church, Gary, Indiana. National newspaper week was observed at the college through forums and conferences presided over by outstanding guest journalists.

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The social science club of MORGAN STATE COLLEGE celebrated Negro history week with a series of programs, among which was presentation of Dr. Roscoe C. Brown, national Negro health director, as main speaker.

Ground was broken at BENEDICT COLLEGE on January 29 for a new gymnasium, the first of several units to be built at the college as part of its rehabilitation and expansion program. About two years ago the college entered upon a three-hundred-thousand-dollar campaign to raise funds to build teachers cottages, gymnasium, and a dormitory. To date more than half of the original sum has been raised, and the remainder is expected by March 16, founder's day.

Frederick H. Dedmond of Morgan was guest speaker during the celebration of Negro history week at STORER COLLEGE. The college participated in race relations Sunday by sending a quartet from its *a cappella* choir in the morning to sing in the Colored Methodist Episcopal church, Bolivar, W. Va.; and in the evening to the Meadow Branch Church of the Brethren, Westminster, Md. Among recent visiting speakers at Storer were Dr. Liu Liang-Mo of the World Students Service Fund, New York City, who spoke on the Chinese civil war; and Rev. Marcus Garvey Woods, of the class of '47, who spoke on current world problems.

Ninety-ninth anniversary of the birth of the founder, William Burns Patterson, of ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, was celebrated on February 9, with Dr. William H. Benson of Chicago as the main speaker. Sixty-sixth annual session of the Alabama State Teachers Association met in the Parker high school, Birmingham, March 24-25. Theme of the session was "Some Current Challenges to Alabama Teachers."

Camilla Williams, soprano, a VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE graduate, gave a concert at her alma mater on February 11. Pianist Joseph Battista gave a concert on March 4. The department of music announces a song-writing contest open to all undergraduates and alumni of the college. Prize-winning song, which must be in the form of a college hymn or athletic "pep song," will get an award of $50 donated by Carl Murphy, president of the Baltimore *Afro-American*. Rabbi Lichtenburg, of the Beth Israel Congregation and director of the B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation at the University of Virginia, was presented on February 27 as a part of the observance of annual brotherhood week.

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For the first time since 1943, members of the women's athletic associations of six colleges gathered on the Virginia State campus to participate in a winter-sports' day program. The college represented were Hampton, Bennett, A & T, North Carolina, Howard, and Virginia State.

Mid-year convocation of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held on January 30. The principal address was delivered by Dr. James N. Nabrit, secretary of Howard university. President John W. Davis conferred degrees upon forty-six graduates. Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard university, was speaker for the third annual men's day program. Two sets of books in the Yale university four-point program in American history were presented to the college library by the Stone and Thomas Department Store of Charleston, W. Va.

Ernest H. Ashley, Jr., of Roxbury, Mass., has been appointed to the department of physics. Recent visitors have been Rabbi Eugene Hibshman, of Chev Sholom Temple, Huntington, W. Va., who addressed the students on February 18; Mrs. Doris Eaton Mason, sculptress; Gloster B. Current, director of branches of the NAACP, who addressed the college chapter of his organization; and Mrs. Soule Kukde, of Jubbulpore, India, who is now traveling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement for Christian Missions.

An abstract of the doctoral dissertation of Thomas B. Jones, visiting professor at the UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, has been printed as "An Analysis of the Interracial Policies and Practices of the Group Work Agencies in Columbus, Ohio."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and the Hon. Chase Going Woodhouse, congresswoman from Connecticut, will lead off in April the first of three Friday luncheon forums for women by women at the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH on the topic, "Are Women Meeting the Challenge of Today on the International, National, and Family levels." Mrs. Roosevelt and Rep. Woodhouse spoke on women and the challenge of world affairs. Speakers at the second to be held on April 22 will be Anne X. Alpern, city solicitor of Pittsburgh, and Dorcas Campbell, assistant vice-president of the East River Savings Bank, New York City. They will discuss women and national issues. At the third luncheon on May 6 the topic will be, "Are women Meeting the Challenge of Today on the Educational and Family Levels?" Millicent Carey McIntosh, dean of Barnard college, will be the moderator, and the panel speakers include Mary Fish Langmuir, president, Child Study Association of America; Mrs. Sam A. Lewisohn, chairman, board of trustees, Public Education Association; and Alice V. Keliher, professor of education, New York university.

An "exchange week-end" to foster the interchanging of ideas and to compare educational systems was conducted at SMITH COLLEGE (Northampton, Mass.) March 18-19 with fifteen co-eds from Howard university as guests.

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Editorial

SENATE GIVES FILIBUSTERS GREEN LIGHT

NO thoughtful person is fooled by the almost incredible hocus-pocus which took place in the Senate between February 28 and March 17. The facts were:

First. Since 1917 the Senate has had a rule to deal with filibusters. Under that rule, cloture (limitation of debate) could be voted by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting on pending measures. Foes of civil rights legislation contended that the phrase "pending measure" did not apply to the required preliminary motions to consider bills, but only to the bills themselves. Their interpretation was upheld by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg as presiding officer of the Republican-controlled Senate of the 80th Congress. Senator Alben Barkley, then minority leader, challenged this interpretation, maintaining that the cloture rule applied to any business before the Senate. It was agreed, with the Republicans talking loudest, that the very first business of the New Congress in January, 1949, would be an effort to tighten the rule by closing this loophole.

Second. Under the old rule, theoretically as few as 33 Senators could invoke cloture; that is, two-thirds of the 49 required for a quorum. Actually, the lowest vote by which filibusters were ever shut off was 55.

Third. Never has debate on a civil rights measure been shut off under the old rule; that is, it has never been possible, in either a Republican or a Democratic Senate, to get as many as 55 Senators to vote for cloture.

Fourth. The voting of cloture does not "gag" the Senate. All such talk is so much poppycock. Discussion of a motion is permitted to proceed for three or four days in the pretense that such discussion is legitimate even though it has been announced in advance as a filibuster. Then, when it has become apparent to even the taxi-drivers in Peoria that a filibuster is in progress, a petition for cloture is circulated. This must be signed by 16 Senators and must lie on the table for two days before it can be called up for a vote. All this time (six or seven days) the Senate has been talking. Let us assume the miracle that cloture is voted. Thereafter each of the 96 Senators is entitled to one hour of discussion, a total of 96 hours. If the Senate met for six hours a day, which is a long day for it, there would be 16 more days of discussion. All this means that if the Senate chose to use the time, *not less than twenty days* of discussion could be had on a bill. Does that look like a "gag"?

WITH these facts in mind, let us see what the Senate did about its pledge to tighten the rule.

It did nothing at all until January 24 when the Rules Committee announced it would hold hearings on a change in the rules, limiting witnesses to Senators. Senator Wayne Morse, Republican of Oregon, promptly stated that he would introduce a resolution to invoke cloture by majority vote. (Remember that the old two-thirds vote never had been effective). Reluctantly and with no enthusiasm the Democratic Whip, Senator Francis Myers of Pennsylvania, introduced a similar resolution. But Chairman Carl Hayden of Arizona frowned on this and got together with Senator Kenneth Wherry, Republican of Nebraska, on a resolution which retained the old two-thirds vote for cloture and in addition provided that cloture could be voted on motions to take up, as well as on measures. This resolution closed one loophole, but did not recognize that the old two-thirds vote had never worked to stop filibusters.

The Hayden-Wherry resolution was not scheduled for the floor until February 28. Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas of Illinois said it would be taken up briefly and laid aside for other business, but such a howl went up that he was forced to hold the resolution before the Senate.

The filibuster went on and finally a cloture petition was filed. Vice President Barkley ruled that cloture could apply to motions to take-up. The crucial fight then was to get the votes to uphold the Barkley ruling. In fact, this was the real test of the debate. The fight was lost, 41 to 46, with 23 Republicans joining 23 Democrats in defeating the motion. This killing of a chance to change the rules and later to pass some civil rights bill was sparked by Senator Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, whose speech against the ruling influenced enough Republicans to cause defeat. Two bright spots in this fight were the speeches and votes of Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, and Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon. Pepper broke brusquely with his Southern colleagues and was magnificent in his speeches. Morse on the Republican side was merciless in the clarity of his argument.

WITH this victory under its belt, the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition then acted to give filibusters the green light, to make it almost impossible to stop a filibuster in the future, and to make it equally difficult to change the rules again.

They had the gall to label this a "compromise" proposal. It was and is nothing of the kind. It is an entirely new and more drastic rule. Republican Senator Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska fronted for it, gave it his name, and defended it with the most transparent double-talk ever used to insult the intelligence of the people.

The new rule provides that cloture can be voted by *two-thirds of the entire membership of the Senate.* This is 64. Remember that the old rule required 55, and that even these could not be got on a civil rights bill. *If 55 was impossible to get, how can you get 64?* The answer is that Senator Wherry and the Dixiecrats do not intend that cloture shall ever be voted.

The new rule provides, in addition, that never shall cloture be voted on a motion to change the Senate rules. This means that unless the Senate is held to 24-hour sessions and filibusterers are thus worn to exhaustion, the Senate cannot change its rules.

The men who gave the people this "compromise" and who thus practically killed off civil rights are the Dixiecrats, the Republicans (without whose help the Dixiecrats could not have won) and certain non-Southern Democrats. They will continue their unholy alliance against labor, housing, minimum wage, health and social security legislation. The blow aimed at the Negro and his civil rights will hit millions of Americans, proving once more that the Negro is the acid test of democracy. Until he gets his share, others are certain to be limited, if not denied altogether. The first task remains the changing of the Senate rules to provide for a government of laws rather than of men. Until we have democracy in the United States Senate there will be precious little of it in the highways and byways of the nation. The men who stand in the way of this accomplishment must be removed from public office.

The "Abduction" of the Planter

By James M. Rosbrow

A little-known episode out of the life of Robert Smalls, Reconstruction congressman from South Carolina and first Negro to hold the rank of captain in the American Navy

IT was just before dawn on May 13, 1862. On the edge of the shore, deep inside the bay at Charleston, South Carolina, a small knot of colored women and children stirred anxiously in the chill of the early morning as they watched wisps of smoke arise from the funnel of a tug boat anchored a little way down the bay.

As they watched, a small boat put out from the ship, manned by two colored sailors who rowed slowly with muffled oars. Drawing near, they beached the boat and one stood guard with a musket as the other stowed the human cargo into their close quarters. It was a matter of but scant minutes before they pushed off and started back to the ship.

Once there, the same speedy action, amid absolute silence, was repeated. Quickly the five women and three children were led below deck where there was less probability that a chance sneeze or whimper would betray their presence on board. On deck all preparations were made for departure. And with the ease of long experience, the all-colored crew took their stations, in the engine room and at the guns.

There was no swearing of solemn oaths and no dramatic intermingling of bloods; but there was drama in the quiet way in which each of these men went to his task, knowing that the odds were at least even that the night's activities would end upon a scaffold or under an executioner's flail. There had been no long-planned conspiracy—just an opportunity that had occurred unexpectedly and was just as promptly being exploited. Just a band of slaves, under the leadership of one of their own number, who were running the gauntlet of all the fortifications of Charleston in a chance to earn their own freedom and strike a blow for that of their fellows.

Clever Ruse

Now, just a few yards from the government offices and headquarters of the Charleston harbor defenses, they hoisted the Confederate and palmetto flags, get up steam, and slowly left the wharf. At the wheel, Robert Smalls prayed in a voice audible only to the sailor manning the nearest gun.

"Oh Lord, we entrust ourselves into thy hands. Like thou didst for the Israelites in Egypt, please stand guard over us and guide us to our promised land of freedom."

At the headquarters, a sentry looked out the window and remarked to another standing nearby:

"Looks like General Ripley's puttin' *The Planter* to work right early this morning."

The other, full of his own thoughts, merely grunted.

With full steam up, there was an almost irresistible temptation to dash right through the series of forts. But Smalls let the ship follow a leisurely pace, pulling the lanyard on the steam whistle to give the customary salute as they passed each of the intermediate posts.

As they drew abreast of Fort Sumter, last and major obstacle, the crew were so quiet that the noise of the steam engine was also deafening. Would some one question their early departure? Would a friend want a word with one of the white officers?

Clearly they heard the sentinel sing out:

"Corporal of the Guard. *The Planter,* flag ship for General Ripley, giving the prescribed signal with her whistle."

And after a split second that seemed like an hour:

"Pass *The Planter,* flag ship for General Ripley."

Still *The Planter* maintained her leisurely pace until she was completely beyond the firing range of the harbor forts. Then as they again got up steam and drove ahead under forced draft, the Southern colors were struck and a bed-sheet run up as a white flag of surrender.

Outside the harbor lay the blockade fleet of the United States Navy, under the command of Admiral Samuel Francis duPont. Straight toward these "Lincoln ships" Smalls headed his craft, trusting to the breaking day to show his white ensign before he was fired upon by the Union guns.

On board the U. S. S. *Onward,* closest ship of the blockading fleet, a sharp-eyed lookout bawled:

"Strange vessel approaching . . . down the main channel."

Speedily the alarm was sounded, and the crew rolled out of hammocks to man the guns. Just as the commander was about to give the order to fire, he saw the white-flag, and rapped out a series of staccato orders:

"Hold fire. Signal that tug to heave to under our guns. Take a small boat to Captain Nichols on the *Newark* and advice him that I am holding this boat under my guns and awaiting his orders."

Prize Crew

Captain Nichols sent a prize crew to board *The Planter* and bring her officers to him. The lieutenant in charge was astounded to find only colored members of the crew. Fearing trickery, he had his men make a complete search of the boat, and they found only the women and children, cowering in the hold. Leaving a squad of his own men on board, he sent for another boat and brought the entire group back to the *Newark.*

To Captain Nichols, Smalls told his story:

"I am Robert Smalls, Sir. I am twenty-two years old and a slave of the McKee family. For more than a year,

these men and I have been members of the crew of *The Planter,* which has served as flag ship and dispatch boat for the Confederate commander of Charleston harbor, Brigadier General R. S. Ripley. For the past two weeks we have been constantly afloat, transferring guns from one island fortification to another. When we docked at the wharf at Charleston, all three of our officers, the only white men on the boat, went ashore for a good night's sleep.

"Tomorrow we were to carry heavier guns to the middle island fort and to Fort Sumter. We felt this was the chance we were waiting for to become free and help the fight of those who have come here to help us and our people. We knew we took a terrible chance. But we also knew that we would never again have an opportunity like this. So we smuggled our families aboard and slipped out of the harbor just as if we were going about our usual work."

"I don't know exactly what you are now," said the delighted Captain Nichols, "but you're certainly not slaves; not after what you have gone through tonight for your freedom. You, Robert, I'm going to send directly to Admiral duPont, so that you can repeat your story to him."

The official records of the United States Navy and of the Army of the Confederate States of America tell more of the story of this gallant adventure, which for sheer audacity is without parallel in the rich history of the Civil War.

To Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, Admiral duPont sent a special report, in which he said:

"The bringing out of this steamer, under all the circumstances, would have done credit to anyone."

The report continued with a description of the escape itself, and stated that the admiral had appointed Smalls a pilot in the United States Navy, assigned to *The Planter,* which ship he called a fine addition to his squadron. Of Smalls, the report said:

"This man, Robert Smalls, is superior to any (of the escaped slaves) who have come into our lines—intelligent as many have been. . . . I do not know whether, in the view of the government, this vessel will be considered a prize, but, if so, I respectfully submit to the department the claims of this man Robert and his associates."

And some of the consternation felt behind the Confederate lines after the "abduction"—as they called it—was discovered is seen in a series of official reports on the subject. The commander of Fort Sumter reported that the ship seemed headed on a trip similar to many taken in the past and no occasion was given for alarm. Brig. Gen. R. S. Ripley, commanding the Department of South Carolina and Georgia, said that the white officers had been away from the vessel in direct disregard of their standing orders, and that he was preferring charges against them. This same news was conveyed by Maj. Gen. Pemberton to his superior, General Robert E. Lee.

Limited Awards

Awards of a limited amount of prize money were made by the Navy. Smalls received $1,500 and each of the other crew members $500, although the ship and its contents were valued at $60,000 and a regular prize would have been fifty per cent of this amount.

As the pilot of *The Planter,* Smalls was of great value to the fleet. He was not only familiar with all the channels of navigation of Charleston harbor. While he was a member of the crew, *The Planter* had made a detailed survey of all the bays on the South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida coastline, and he knew this territory thoroughly.

But all of his service was not as peaceful and anti-climactic as this would imply. On December 1, 1863, while *The Planter* was sailing through Folly Island Creek, the Confederate batteries at Secessionville subjected the ship to a witheirng fire. Spurning valor for discretion, the white commanding officer took refuge in the coal bunkers of the ship. Smalls, the pilot, took over the command and brought the vessel safely out of range of the enemy fortifications and back to port.

For this act he was named captain in the Navy, only Negro ever to hold that rank up to the present time, and commanding officer of *The Planter,* a post which he held until demobilization in September, 1866.

Although this ended Smalls' services to the Navy, he was to give another half century of service to his state and country. Only twenty-five years old when he left the service, he was, because of his heroic exploits, the most prominent colored man in South Carolina. Already, in 1864, he had been sent as a delegate to the National Union Convention. In 1868 he was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention and was elected a Republican member of the State House of Representatives. Here he served until 1870, then going to the State Senate for another four years.

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He left the State Senate to accept a seat in the United States House of Representatives, completing the term of a Democrat who had been unseated by the House. He served four more terms, being out of office in 1880-81 and completing his service in 1887, when the Democrats captured the House and refused to accept his certificate of election after a local dispute as to its validity.

Activities Restricted

In the Congress, Smalls was under the same restriction that harrassed most of the other Negro members; so much time was consumed on urgent matters relating to the welfare and civil rights of his people that there was not much opportunity for initiative in other fields of legislation. A colored colleague, Congressman O'Hara of North Carolina, sought to have more adequate payment made to Smalls and his associates for their turning over to the Navy of *The Planter,* but the Democrats were strong enough to block such action. The same thing occurred to a motion to have Smalls placed on the retired list of the Navy with the rank of captain.

Between 1866 and 1877, when the Democrats gained full control of the State government in South Carolina, Smalls was very active in the State Militia, and he rose to the rank of major general. Under his leadership, many attempts at race riots were effectively suppressed.

In December, 1889, he was appointed collector of the port of Beaufort, S. C., by President Benjamin Harrison. Except for the second Cleveland administration, he held this post continuously until 1913, just two years before his death. His last public act of distinction was as a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1895. There, as the leader of six colored delegates, he led a gallant and courageous fight against the complete disenfranchisement of his race, but the tides of prejudice were running too full, and his struggle was in vain.

Smalls was a man of winning personal characteristics, being intelligent, friendly and scrupulously fair. Devoid of malice, he was very helpful to the McKee family, his former owners, in the turbulent days of the Reconstruction. Of his relations with the members of his own race, the Charleston *News and Courier said:* "The men, women, and children seem to regard him with a feeling akin to worship." His old age at Beaufort was passed in fullest amity with his neighbors, colored and white alike, and his passing in 1915, at the age of seventy-five, was mourned by the entire town.

Fighting Segregation in the Leo Rogers Homes

By Clifford. R. Moore

This piece reviews the fight of Trenton, N. J., veterans to get into the Rogers Homes on a non-segregated basis

THE fight of Negro veterans in Trenton, N. J., to get into the Leo J. Rogers Homes on a non-segregated basis may really be said to go back to 1945 when the State of New Jersey passed its Veterans Housing Act, N.J.S.A. 55: 14G-1 et seq., authorizing municipalties to utilize waste lands, condemned areas, etc., for the erection of housing facilities. Two-thirds of the funds would come from the state; the remainder would be supplied by the municipality; and first priority would be given honorably discharged veterans of World War II. This was not a slum-clearance act, and municipalities were given the right to charge a rental sufficient to amortize, within a specified period, construction costs.

The law was to be administered by the Commissioner of the Department of Economic Development acting in the capacity of a public housing administrator, with the right of rigid inspection in order to secure compliance with the law. The commission was even authorized to withhold funds from municipalities which failed to comply with all the provisions of the act.

It was also during 1945 that the city of Trenton, acting through its then mayor, Andrew Duchs, appointed a Veterans Housing Committee made up of one representative from all veterans organizations, with the exception of the American Veterans Committee. The committee chairman was, and still is, Edward G. Dolton, a member of Post 93 of the American Legion. One committee member, Wilbur Welch, commander of the Mitchel Davis Post of the Colored American Legion, is Negro. Duty of this committee was to screen all applications for homes provided for veterans. But the committee began its work, screening applicants for a temporary housing project constructed of old army barracks, by either excluding Negro veterans or placing them in a separate project. This particular practice was stopped as result of the opposition of the Trenton Council for Human Relations, the American Veterans Committee, and the Trenton branch of the NAACP. Colored veterans were finally accepted for all projects but were placed in separate buildings in each.

When plans were drawn up for the present Leo J. Rogers Homes in 1947, there were no provisions for registering applicants, largely as result of the general confusion as to who was to have authority over public housing projects. Not until 1948 was it finally decided that applicants for the veterans' housing projects then being built would apply to the Trenton Housing Authority, headed by J. Conover French. Mr. French had already operated strictly segregated housing projects as a federal housing administrator. Early in August, 1948, the VHC announced August 20, 1948, as the final date for the acceptance of applications for the Leo Rogers Homes, and that applications could be made at the Donnelly Homes, a white housing project.

Negro Applicants Refused

But whenever a colored veteran would apply at the Donnelly Homes, he would be sent to the Lincoln Homes, a Negro project. When Charles Williams, chairman of the housing committee of the Trenton branch of the NAACP, and Clifford R. Moore, secretary of the branch legal redress committee, heard that Negro applicants were being sent to a separate place, and that their applications were not being investigated, they got in immediate touch with the mayor's office, Mr. French, and John Wooldredge, president of the Trenton Council for Human Relations. Mr. Moore and Mr. Williams then got in touch, personally, with all Negro applicants and sent them to the Donnelly Homes. But these persons would be turned away and told to apply to the Lincoln Homes. Only after considerable difficulty and some threats did Mr. French order the officials at the Donnelly Homes to accept the applications of Negro veterans.

On August 23, 1948, a letter was forwarded to Mayor Connolly informing him of the situation, and with a request that he instruct, not only the investigators, but all housing officials to cease further racial discrimination.

The letter stated:

> This is a problem which is without doubt within your power as Mayor of Trenton to correct. We would recommend that you call together the personnel of the Housing Authority and Mr. Dolton's committee and give adequate instructions that will correct past abuses and check any future possibilities of racial discrimination.
>
> The instant situation points out clearly a condition that results from the lack of forethought and faulty judgment. Colored citizens will not countenance any condition which smacks of racial discrimination. This was demonstrated to Mr. French this past spring at Carver Center in a housing forum at which he was the principal speaker. It further points to what can result from the failure to include a colored member on the public commissions. Had there been a colored member of the Housing Authority, the discriminatory method of handling applications might not have occurred.
>
> We are well aware that frequently appointments of this nature are made purely on the basis of partisan politics rather than individual merit. But this can only lead to harmful public relations because of the fact that Negroes will accept no appointee who does not measure up to exacting standards of ag-

gressiveness and militancy. However, this is a situation not precisely on point with the immediate problem.

A letter of the same tenor was sent to Edward G. Dolton, chairman of the Veterans Housing Committee. And the following day, John Wooldredge addressed a letter to the mayor.

A conference was arranged with Mayor Connolly and the city commissioners on September 3, 1948. However, absence of one commissioner caused the mayor to cancel the meeting in presence of representatives from both the Trenton NAACP and the Trenton Council for Human Relations. When the mayor was informed of the legal questions involved and told that the NAACP branch might seek injunctive relief, he agreed to call a meeting for September 14, at which time all the commissioners and people having to do with housing would be present.

On September 13, 1948, the NAACP branch was notified that the meeting had been cancelled. On that same date Mayor Connolly was mailed a letter stating that "In all fairness, you should be informed of our planned legal moves if the present discrimination and segregation continue to be practiced. . . . Does the city of Trenton intend to establish a ghetto system in the Rogers Homes, such as a 'Negro' wing, section, or unit?" But there was no reply to this communication.

Having already received the approval of the Trenton branch, the matter was reported to the New Jersey state conference of NAACP branches, which gave authorization to go ahead with any legal steps thought necessary. In the meantime, Thomas Walsh, secretary to Mayor Connolly, had been informed that unless a reply was received to the letter of September 13 before 2:00 P. M., on September 25, legal action would be instituted. When no reply was forthcoming, the branch got into immediate touch with the NAACP national office and a meeting was arranged with Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry assistant special counsel, NAACP, Charles Williams, and Clifford Moore.

Situation Explained

Mrs. Perry and Mr. Williams called upon Carl G. Geigas of the Department of Economic Development and explained the situation. Mr. Geigas then got in touch with Mayor Connolly, and on September 28, 1948, the City Commission announced that the Leo J. Rogers Homes would not be opened on October 1, 1948, as scheduled, since all applications had not been "processed." Immediately thereafter the housing people began interviewing colored applicants.

The first unit in the Rogers Homes, containing twenty-eight apartments, was opened on December 16, 1948, with an assignment of nine colored families. The colored families were placed in a separate section of the building, with no access to the quarters occupied by the whites. They even had separate entrances for Negroes and whites, but this was not discovered until after Christmas. When Clarence Williams heard about it, he got in immediate touch with Mr. Geigas of the Department of Economic Development, who arranged for a meeting with Mayor Connolly on January 3, 1949.

Present at the meeting with Mayor Connolly in addition to Mr. Geigas, were Joseph S. Tysowski, secretary of the Trenton Housing Authority and coordinator of veterans' housing, John Wooldredge of the Trenton Council for Human Relations, and Clifford Moore of the local NAACP. When the situation was explained to Mayor Connolly, he expressed surprise, claiming that he had issued orders for non-segregation and complete compliance with the state law. He then asked Mr. Tysowski for an explanation. Mr. Tysowski said that he did not know that to place all Negroes in one section of the Rogers Homes was in violation of state law, and admitted that he and Arthur Sypek, manager of the Roger Homes, had made the assignment.

The coordinator of veterans' housing, Mr. Tysowski, explained his action on the basis of consultations which he is supposed to have had with several "colored leaders" and members of the veterans' housing committee, who had advised him that they thought Negro veterans would be happier among themselves. When Mr. Tysowski, however, was questioned as to the identity of these "colored leaders," he refused to name them.

Mr. Wooldredge pointed out that the law had been violated from the day the project began taking applications. And Mr. Williams and Mr. Moore said they were tired of accepting excuses, and that their branch had authorized them to take legal action. Mr. Moore had arranged with the local United States Commissioner to sign a complaint alleging violation of the federal civil rights statute. Mayor Connolly, in the face of these threats, stated that the matter could be handled quietly and that he would immediatley send written instructions to all housing people to end further segregation. In replying to Mayor Connolly, both Mr. Williams and Mr. Moore agreed that the matter could be settled quietly, and that for the present they would not demand the moving of the present Negro occupants, provided the mayor's instructions ended the difficulties.

Ministerial Alliance Helped

Help in the struggle also came from the Ministerial Alliance, of which all the colored ministers of Trenton are members.

As a follow up to the January 3 meeting, Mayor Connolly sent a rather weak letter to Arthur Sypek, manager of the Roger Homes, instructing him to follow a non-discriminatory policy, which would be in accordance with state law. In the meantime, Charles Williams had, through a ruse, managed to get access to the application files. He noted that all applications coming from Negroes were in some way identified as to race. As a result of this discovery, the board of the local NAACP rejected the mayor's letter. When this was done the mayor gave immediate publicity to the letter from the local NAACP with the peevish explanation that he did not know what the NAACP branch really wanted. This publicity had breached the agreement of January 3, 1949, that there would be no publicity involving either party. The branch was now ready to initiate legal action.

Mr. Williams and Mr. Moore got in touch with Mrs. Perry, of the national office, and Herbert Tate, both of whom were counsel in the East Orange, N. J., case. A meeting was then arranged with the attorneys for the branch, branch officials, and Mr. Miller, city comptroller. Mr. Miller stated that at the next meeting of the city commission that Mayor Connolly would personally introduce a resolution that would serve as a directive for all housing officials, and which would end segregation in housing. The NAACP group then asked Mr. Miller to ask Mr. Sypek to withhold signing of leases for the second building, to be opened on February 1, 1949, until the mayor had introduced his resolution. Mr. Sypek was willing to do this, since, he said, it was his intention to "mix" occupants in the new building.

Mayor Connolly did introduce his resolution against segregation, as follows:

"Resolution regarding the use and occupancy of the Leo J. Rogers Homes. Whereas, the City of Trenton, in conjunction with the State of New Jersey, is erecting certain public housing units, under the provisions of Chapter 323 of the Law of 1946; and

"Whereas, said law and agreement entered into between the City and the State of New Jersey provided that for all purposes of this act no person shall, because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry be subject to any discrimination; and

"Whereas, it is the intention and

(Continued on page 126)

South African Race Riots

By George Padmore

THE recent riots between two sections of the non-European population of the Union of South Africa—East Indians and Zulu Africans—were the logical outcome of the policy of jim crowism and racial oppression, known officially as "Apartheid," on the one hand, and the traditional British policy of "divide and rule" on the other.

"We are face to face with the fruits of the white man's policy of dividing the people of South Africa into kraals and denying them an equal say in how the problems created by their having to live together, pay the same taxes, and suffer from the same diseases, are to be solved," asserts *Inkundla Ya Bantu*, mouthpiece of the Africans. Commenting upon the socio-economic forces which provided the fuel for the sudden explosion, the paper says: "We witness the fruits of suspicion and hatred sown when the Union of South Africa came into being nearly forty years ago. At that time the white people decided to arrogate to themselves the sole right to guide the destinies of all the non-European peoples. How well they have guided the latter may be seen from what has happened. . . . Today we see this policy forcing the heavily and cruelly oppressed Africans to turn against a group which, though privileged, is none the less not among the rulers."

The Durban pogrom, the worst yet experienced in the history of South Africa, resulted in the death of 137 people, including one European, 53 Indians, and 83 Africans, most of whom were shot by white soldiers. The injured amounted to 1,883, of whom 30 were Europeans, 768 Indians, and 1,085 Africans. It is estimated that over $1,500,000 worth of property belonging to wealthy Indian merchants and traders was destroyed. Over 20,000 Indians and Africans have been rendered permanently homeless, while 40,000 Indians, driven from their homes, are being cared for in emergency camps by the Red Cross and other relief organizations.

Durban municipal authorities and white race-baiters cannot escape the moral responsibility for the explosive South African race riots of January

Apart from the dead and the physical suffering endured, the most tragic consequence of this unprecendented outbreak of mob violence from the point of view of non-European race relations, is the hatred and bitterness which these communal conflicts invariably leave as their legacy. However, efforts which have already been made to restore friendship and cooperation between the two communities are meeting success. Immediately after the fighting subsided, the leaders of the Indian and African National Congresses, the two leading non-European political organizations in South Africa, issued a joint statement appealing to their respective followers to close ranks in face of the provocation and incitement to racial hatred from European politicians and other agents of the *Herrenvolk* government.

A joint commission from the two bodies has also been set up to inquire into the economic and social causes of the unrest and to take immediate steps to remove such grievances as may exist between the two racial groups, and thereby re-establish friendship and cooperation on a more permanent basis between the African and Indian communities in Natal. Representatives of other non-European progressive organizations, as well as outstanding Africans and Indians, have united to support this gesture of good will and statesmanship on the part of the leaders of the African and Indian National Congresses.

Historical Background

The outbreak of the riots was spontaneous and took the leaders of the two racial communities completely by surprise. "Several false culprits can be acquitted at the outset. This is perhaps the first serious riot of modern times for which the communists have not and cannot be blamed," says the London *Observer*. The causes have to be looked for elsewhere.

It is significant that Field Marshall Smuts, seeking to make political capital out of the suffering and tragedy of these dark-skinned folk whom he so ruthlessly oppressed when he was Prime Minister, hastened to fasten blame upon his political rival, Dr. Malan, the leader of the present Boer Nationalist government. But this clumsy maneuver does not deceive the Africans. They know that the difference between Smuts and Malan is that of degree rather than of kind—the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee!

Repudiating the hypocrisy of "Janus" Smuts (this political Jekyl and Hyde, who, like his friend Churchill, poses to the outside world as a great liberal but is a reactionary tyrant to colored races), *Inkundla Ya Bantu* declares: "It is dishonest to accuse Dr. Malan or the Nationalists of being the main cause of the riots or to say that their rise to power has resulted in the Durban riots. A deep and festering sore has been developing in the body of the African people against oppression and its agents since Union. It is the sore caused by segregation. It was not Dr. Malan who advised the delegates to the National Convention in 1910 to leave giving the African a voice in the affairs of his country to the abler minds of the future; in other words who silenced the voice of liberalism to ensure that the point of view of the oppressors of the former Dutch Republic prevailed. It was General Smuts himself, who, today, would hold the Nationalists as surely responsible for the Durban disasters. The Durban riots are the fruit of fatal blunders of the men who drafted the Act of Union—leader among them was General Smuts who was prime minister of the Union for ten years, and in that time did nothing

to give the African new hope. The Nationalist rise to power merely accelerated a process already in motion. To hold the Nationalists alone responsible for these disasters is just cant."

All the white politicians, British as well as Boer (Dutch), are equally responsible. Their hands are stained with the blood of Africans and Indians. By their incitement to racial hatred they hope to divert the attention of the non-Europeans from their real oppressors, the white overlords, just as the American Dixiecrats exploit racism for political ends. In South Africa, the quickest and surest way to election in Durban is to stand on an Asiatic platform. "Over the last three years anti-Asiatic propaganda has been preached by prominent men in Durban," reports the South African correspondent of the liberal *Manchester Guardian*. "They have made Durban a city of hate. It was in this atmosphere of racial strain and tension that a small incident precipitated the bloodiest riots on the night of January 13th last."

Acme

DURBAN RACE RIOT—*Natives race through Durban's Pine Street, seeking new victims, at the height of the three-day race riot between Africans and Indians. Africans, angered by rumors that an adolescent African boy, George Madondo, had been murdered by an Indian, swarmed down upon Indian shops and homes, rolling up a casualty list of 137 dead and 1,883 injured.*

How the Trouble Started

The trouble started about 9 o'clock, when some Africans queueing up for buses operated by wealthy Asiatics, saw an Indian fruit vendor strike a Zulu child, George Madondo. The crowd remonstrated with the man and a palaver ensued. Words led to blows. Then someone raised the false alarm that the boy had been killed by the Indian. Fighting spread in the wake of the rumor.

According to an eye-witness: "The incensed Africans turned on Indians in the vicinity with sticks, stones, and broken bottles, which they hurled at passing buses and cars operated by Indians. Fighting spread quickly as Africans pursued the vehicles. Vegetable carts were overturned and shop windows shattered. Indians attempting to make a getaway in buses, cars, and taxis were met with a hail of missiles."

As the situation was assuming ugly proportions a storm broke over the city and a heavy downpour of rain drove the rioters off the streets. Thanks to this timely intervention of Providence, calm was restored temporarily. On the following day, however, renewed fighting broke out in various parts of the city. The agents-provocateurs had gone to work. In order to eliminate business rivals, Europeans incited the Africans to attack the stores of Indian merchants. It was not difficult to arouse the resentment of the unsophisticated Zulu against Indian shopkeepers, who habitually overcharge natives, and Indian landlords, who exact the maximum rents for pitiable tin-roofed shacks, and who are merciless in ejections.

While there are many poor Indians belonging to the working class of Durban, it is the luxurious surburban villas and sleek American high-powered limousines of the wealthy Indian merchant class that arouse the envy and jealousy of the under-privileged Africans. And since their white oppressors are armed, it is easier for the Africans to release their frustration against defenceless Indians. When such communal outbursts occur it is the poor who suffer far more than the rich.

At the height of the shopping period on Friday, January 14, bands of Zulus, chanting their traditional war songs, stormed through the Indian quarters, looting shops and setting houses on fire. As the Indians deserted their shops and stores, white hooligans joined the mobs in looting, which went on all day. "Though after Friday the police made every effort to quell the riot, there is evidence to show that many lives and properties could have been saved had not many European policemen encouraged Africans to attack Indians," reports the Cape *Town Guardian*.

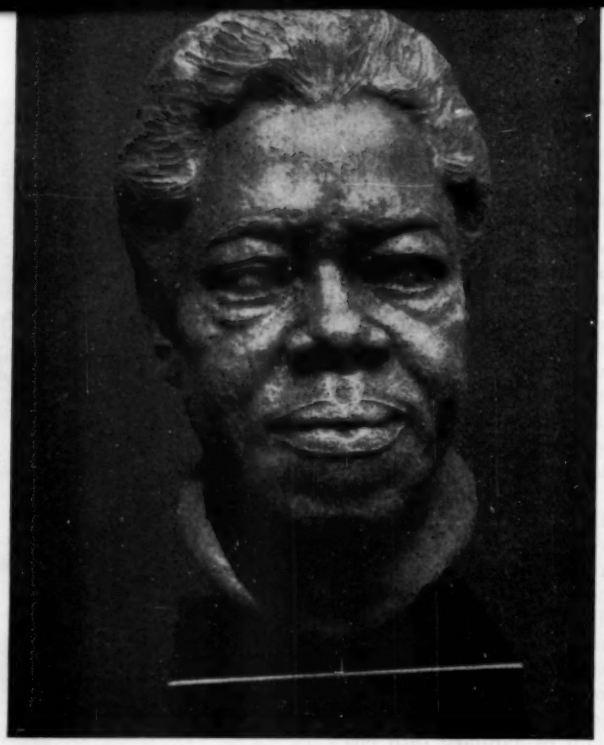
The same report says: "The Natal Indian Congress has also received the car numbers of European-owned cars the occupants of which were seen helping Africans to loot shops and houses. Many reports have been received from Africans, Indians, and Europeans to the effect that European-driven trucks transported Africans to fighting zones during the riots. One African has admitted in court that he was told to attack the Indians by a European."

It was only when the situation threatened to get out of hand and the Africans might have attacked the European business section that the Government declared a state of emergency and flew troops into the city. These white soldiers (for only Europeans are allowed to bear arms in South Africa) immediately turned their guns upon the unarmed natives. This accounts for the large number of African casualties. Bullets took the place of tear gas and batons in restoring "the majesty of the white man's authority."

To silence his critics, Dr. Malan has announced the setting up of a judicial commission of inquiry [*consisting of Justice F. P. van der Heever, chairman, Ryle Masson, chief magistrate of Johannesburg, and H. F. W. Schultz, chief magistrate of Durban. Ed.*], which makes the affair *sub judice*. "Evidence will be given before this commission by both Indians and Natives. Among the leaders of both races who will testify before it we doubt whether there will be

(*Continued on page* 124)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
President Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

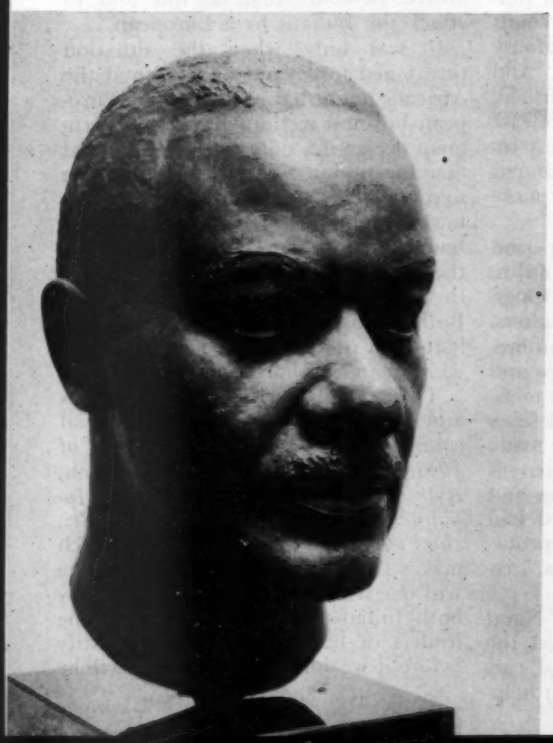


MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
President National Council Negro Women

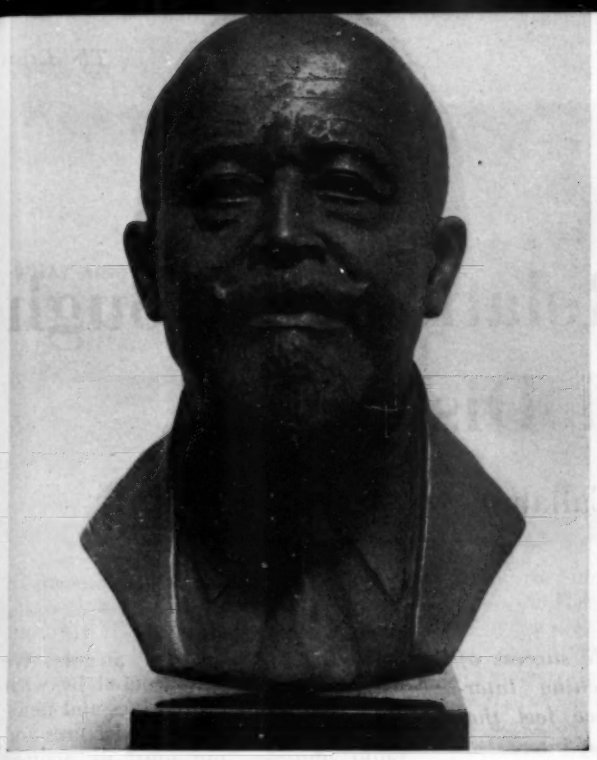
RUTH BRALL'S SCULPTURED PORTRAITS

DEAN DIXON
Founder-Director American Youth Orchestra

RUTH Bl



THESE SIX PORTRAIT BUSTS are part of the exhibit of the work of Ruth Brall held at the New School for Social Research, New York City, February 12-19. The six busts not portrayed here are those of Gertrude Ayer, principal of P. S. 119, New York City; Ralph J. Bunche, acting mediator on Palestine affairs and 34th Spingarn medalist; Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP; Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League; Lawrence D. Reddick, librarian at Atlanta university; and Katherine Dunham, dancer and founder of the Dunham School of the Dance.



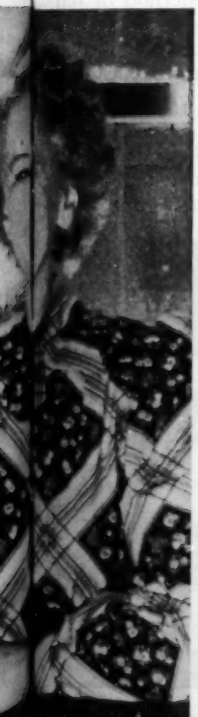
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
Author and educator

JACKIE ROBINSON
Athlete and baseball player

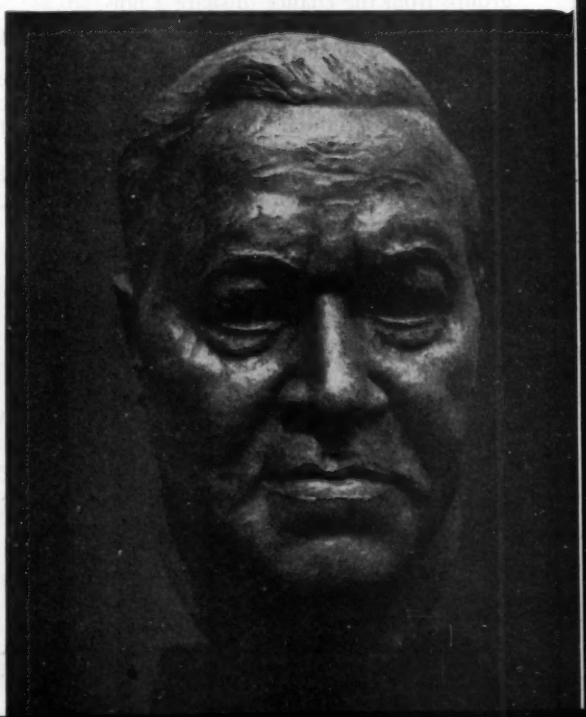
TS DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN NEGROES

CHANNING H. TOBIAS
Director of Phelps-Stokes Fund

d Bl**tress**



"THIS EXHIBITION is," explains the sculptress, "a tribute to these living Americans. All these indefatigable leaders have met the challenge and continue to weld the links of human relationship, constantly overcoming the obstacles of prejudice, ignorance, and intolerance." She spent more than a year on this project, during which she made no other commitments. Ruth Brall, a native New Yorker, has exhibited her work in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the National Academy, the Swope Museum, the Vendome Gallery, and the British-American Art Center.



Better Intergroup Relations Through Filmstrips and Discussion

By Doris Callahan

FROM Baltimore a minister writes: "Our church is in a mixed white collar and factory worker community, with all the usual prejudices. I wanted to do something really constructive about furthering better interracial relations, but I didn't know where to start.

"A friend told me about the five filmstrips based on the *Look* book *"One Nation"* which he had used in his young people's discussion groups. One night we showed the first in the series, 'The Spiral of Social Change,' to a group of about 35 men and women."

Now one of the major points in this filmstrip is that the walls of segregation and discrimination which bar minority groups from the chance to share a normal range of jobs, wages, education and housing cause them to move down the social spiral; that the group on top, seeing the resulting marks of depression, tends to tighten the restrictions, forgetting that the *restrictions*, not the character of the victims of these measures, are to blame for their plight. (A simple enough idea, but one that is almost always confused or lost sight of in argument.)

"We had a long discussion that night which carried over to the next meeting. It was a heartening experience and I wish you could have been there. I had the impression that some of these people were really thinking deeply about the problem for the first time in their lives. There were the usual irrelevancies, fierce personal attacks, recounting of stories, etc., but we managed somehow to bring the discussion back to the major issues.

"We discussed what equal opportunities in housing, jobs, recreation, education and health facilities would mean to minorities as well as the community at large. At subsequent sessions we showed the others in the series: 'The American Negro,' 'Pacific Races,' 'Early Americans,' 'Culture and Creed,' with stimulating discussion. At our next meeting we're going into the President's Civil Rights Program. We have also formed an Action Committee to study the situation here. I don't feel we have eliminated all the deep rooted prejudices by any means. But we have made a beginning."

In view of the wide success of Filmstrips in teaching intergroup tolerance, we feel that this article will be of interest to readers

Attitudes and Group Discussion

A great deal has been written about the necessity for changing basic attitudes if Negroes and other minorities are to achieve their full rights of citizenship. Unfortunately most attempts at better education on the problem fall into the passive category. We may be momentarily aroused by what we read in books, magazines and newspapers, or what we hear in lectures and radio addresses; but until we achieve more active *participation by* taking over and trying to solve these problems we are likely to fall back into apathy.

Many psychiatrists and other professionals in the field of group relations and mental hygiene have come to the conclusion that organized group discussion, when properly conducted, can help cut through the emotional blind spots and other mental quirks which keep us from understanding one another. The National Institute of Social Relations, for example, was organized to foster the discussion method of narrowing the gap between creed and practice. In its statement of purpose the Institute summed it up this way:

"We believe that much of the social illness derives from the failure of our citizens to practice in their daily lives the basic principles of our democratic credo . . . The Institute endeavours

YOU LEARN TOGETHER: *Brains are decisive here. Skin color has nothing to do with learning ability.*

WHAT KIND *of summer camp does your son or daughter attend? Good interracial camps are springing up all over.*

to promote a bettter understanding of human behaviour and of man's relationship to his fellowmen. Recognizing that for most people group study and group discussion is a more fruitful method of learning than solitary effort, we seek to achieve our objective by providing organized channels for the "talk it over" tradition which Americans have enjoyed since colonial days . . . nationwide discussion groups implemented at the 'grass roots' community level."

During the two and one half years of its existence the Institute conducted experimental studies in community education in half a dozen cities scattered throughout the United States and established hundreds of discussion groups. Full reports are to be published later, but as Dr. Julius Schreiber, the Institute's Director, has pointed out, all indications point to the fact that those who participated developed better social attitudes and took part in more and better social action.

Many other organizations, civic groups, churches, youth and adult associations in this country are expanding their group discussion activities. But building discussion groups is a tougher job than merely obtaining a speaker or organizing an entertaining program. There is the problem of seeing that the group has essential basic information before discussion, to avoid a mere pooling of ignorance. There must be some means of training leaders in the techniques of conducting a discussion.

Discussion Springboard

How is the group leader going to get across the facts and background information which should precede discussion? He can do it himself, but there are more drawbacks than advantages to this lector method. He can show a film if he can find one which highlights the facts and does not sacrifice clarity to emotional effects. And he can use a Discussion Filmstrip. Today the magic lantern of pre-movie days has been streamlined and put to work as a simple and inexpensive method of stimulating interest in and discussion and action on current problems.

Modern Discussion Filmstrips are a series of cartoons or still photographs on a short strip of 35 mm film, projected on a screen or light wall by a small, easily operated filmstrip projector.

The many advantages of filmstrip as a springboard for discussion are testified to by their increasing use by church and community leaders, teachers, inter-faith and inter-racial groups, young people's clubs and many others. Filmstrips clarify thought by providing a well organized development of ideas in simple picture-sequence. They are a flexible medium, for the simple accompanying narration is designed to be read by a local speaker who can adapt it to the group's interest and add up-to-the-minute developments. And filmstrips can be used at a fraction of the cost of motion picture equipment.

For a long time slide films or film strips were limited to textbook subjects or industrial training. Sensing a widespread need for visual aids that would deal clearly and realistically with the problems of today's world, Film Publishers, Inc. has produced new Discussion Filmstrips on current social topics for use by all types of community groups: intergroup relations, family relationships, national affairs, the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, building the peace, world trade, control of atomic energy, the new state of Israel and others.

Most of the intergroup relations filmstrips have been produced in cooperation with national organizations directly concerned with improving relations between all races and religions.

Resume of Filmstrips

Here is a brief description of a few of the many 35 mm filmstrips in this field:

To Secure These Rights 48 frames. Photographs and cartoons. A graphic story of the history of civil rights in America. Beginning with the first ten amendments to the Constitution, the filmstrip highlights progress since then, up through the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Pictures the most important of these, including new federal and state commissions and agencies, legislation prohibiting lynching, the poll tax, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, denial of federal funds to any educational, housing or public health services practicing discrimination or segregation, state laws in this field, etc.

Free To Be Different 49 frames. Photographs. Based on the book *American Counterpoint* by Alexander Alland. Pictures the many different national and cultural origins in America —the peoples of many colors and kinds from all over the earth, each contributing its bit to the whole. This interpretation of freedom refutes the melt-

(Continued on page 124)

ON THE RADIO—*Is the Negro shiftlessly portrayed? Has the Jew a funny accent? If so, ask the network "Why?"*

All pictures from the filmstrip "You are on the All-American Team," Film Publishers, Inc.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

CHART MEMBERSHIP DRIVE—*Members of the Kansas City, Mo., branch membership campaign committee mapping their 1949 membership to begin April 25. The goal this year is 5,000. Here in the midst of discussion are (L. to R.) John H. Harris, in charge of publicity; Mrs. A. C. Wilson, W. O. Myles, Mrs. Gladys Badeau, general chairman of the drive; Horatious Davis, Mrs. Thomas Pollard, and Joseph H. Taylor. Members not shown are Percy Lee, Mrs. Clara Miller, Ralph Brady, Mrs. Grace Kirkpatrick, Mrs. M. C. Lewis, and Girard T. Bryant.*

LEGAL

Petition Supreme Court for Rehearing: A petition for rehearing of the case of Samuel Taylor, Alabama youth whose conviction for rape was twice affirmed by the United States Supreme Court, was filed in February by attorneys for the NAACP.

Referring to the Supreme Court's 4-4 *per curiam* decision of February 7, when Justice Hugo Black had disqualified himself from the hearing and the decision, the NAACP petition states: "Where a man's life is at stake and constitutional rights are involved, his life should not be taken as a result of a decision by an equally divided Court based upon a half hour argument."

In requesting that the Court grant a rehearing, the petition asked that Mr. Justice Black reconsider his reasons for disqualifying himself from the case. NAACP attorneys asserted that numerous principles of law remain "beclouded and in doubt" as a result of the *per curiam* decision and urged that upon rehearing these principles be clarified and finally decided by a majority of the full Court.

The NAACP appeal of the Taylor case is based on allegation that the youth's conviction resulted from a confession wrung from him.

To Test Park Bias: The validity of segregation in public parks and recreational facilities is headed toward a Supreme Court test, Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, announced in February.

Mr. Marshall's plan was formulated following a decision by the Kentucky Court of Appeals on February 21, upholding a lower court which had granted a motion to dismiss the complaint of Dr. P. O. Sweeney against the City of Louisville.

Dr. Sweeney, through NAACP lawyers representing the national office and the local branch, sued the city to halt the practice of refusing to admit Negro residents to the city-maintained amphitheatre and golf course. The city's motion to dismiss the complaint was granted in the trial court.

In their brief before the Kentucky Court of Appeals, Attorneys Alfred M. Carroll, James Crumlin, and Benjamin Shobe of Louisville, and Franklin H. Williams of the national office, pointed out that Negroes, who number 65,000 out of a total population of 145,000 are restricted to park facilities totaling 153 acres, while white persons have 2,267 acres of park facilities for their use. They further pointed out that though the city maintains five golf courses for white citizens, no Negro is allowed to use them and none is provided for Negro citizens. The attorneys argued that such segregation resulting in this clear discrimination is a violation of the United States Constitution.

Army Segregation Case: Following the denial in February by Federal District Judge J. Cullen Ganey of a motion to dismiss the complaint of De-Vreaux Tomlinson against the Selective Service Board, attorneys for the NAACP announced they were preparing to argue the case sometime this spring.

Tomlinson, who refused to report for induction into the Army unless written assurance were given him that he would not be assigned for service in a segregated unit, instituted a suit against the Selective Service Board to test the validity of this proposed induction for service into such a unit. Federal Attorney E. A. Kallick moved to dismiss the complaint on grounds that the question of issuing a restraining order against the Selective Service Board would be moot since Tomlinson had failed to report for induction as ordered, and that the Director of Selective Service was outside the jurisdiction of the court.

CONGRESSIONAL

Urged Senators to End Filibusters: Leaders of both parties in the Senate were assured of the support of organized labor, churches, and civic groups in the drive to break the filibuster through the change of Senate rules.

This assurance was pledged by a delegation from the Joint Committee on Civil Rights, representing twenty-one national organizations, which met in Washington with Robert A. Taft, chairman of the Senate Republican

policy committee, and Senator Irving M. Ives of New York. This meeting was followed by a conference with Scott W. Lucas, Senate majority leader, and Francis J. Myers, Senate Democratic whip.

The delegation, headed by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, urged the senate leaders to make an all-out unequivocal fight to break the filibuster of southern Democrats.

In response to questions raised in the conference, Senator Taft denied that any agreement had been reached between Republicans and southern Democrats to prevent effective action against the filibuster.

In addition to Dr. Tobias, members of the delegation were: Bernard Trager of Bridgeport, Conn., who spoke for major Jewish organizations; Louis G. Hines of the American Federation of Labor; Father Francis McGowan of the National Catholic Welfare Council; the Reverend William Collins of the AME Church; Walter White, secretary, NAACP; Councilman Archibald J. Carey of Chicago; and Mrs. Jeanetta Welch Brown of the National Council of Negro Women. James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, was unable to attend because of a sudden call out of town.

On March 10 a large delegation from Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, and the national office of the NAACP visited Washington and conferred with their respective senators and representatives as a part of the anti-filibuster campaign.

The following delegates attended the conference: Connecticut: Alfred Baker Lewis, Greenwich branch and member of national board of directors, NAACP; Herman R. Lee, Hartford; William A. Winston, president Bridgeport branch; Delaware: Mrs. Jean Jamison, president Wilmington branch NAACP; District of Columbia: C. A. Horsky, ACLU; Violet McGrath, ADA; Rev. E. L. Harrison, Social Action Committee, National Baptist Convention; Sanford H. Bolz, American Jewish Congress; Herman Edelsberg, B'nai B'rith, Anti-Defamation League; Austin Norris, Pittsburgh Courier; Elmer Henderson, American Council on Human Rights; Lewis Hines, AFL; George L. P. Weaver, CIO; Illinois: Henry W. McGee, Chicago branch NAACP; Herbert L. Wright, president Illinois state conference of NAACP branches; Indiana: Mrs. Cary D. Jacobs, executive secretary Indianapolis branch; Maryland: Robert B. Watts, Baltimore; Rev. David H. Croll, secretary Maryland state conference NAACP branches; Robert Watts, Baltimore branch; Massachusetts: Mrs. Florence Lesueur, president Boston branch.

Hess

DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST *the Negro ban at the bowling tournament in Convention Hall, Atlantic City, N. J. Planned by the Atlantic City branch of the NAACP and the civil liberties committee of the CIO, the demonstration had the support of many other organizations. The little girl with the sign reading "This is Atlantic City, Not Georgia" is Geraldine Neil, daughter of branch president Rev. Mathew E. Neil. The American Bowling Congress was assailed by the NAACP in March for voting down a resolution which would have ended restrictions of ABC membership to white males only.*

Michigan: Doris Gallimore, Muskegon branch; Edward Turner, Detroit; Missouri: Carl R. Johnson, president Kansas City branch; Arnett G. Lindsay, St. Joseph branch; New Jersey: Mrs. J. C. Carr, Newark; Mrs. J. A. Richardson, Camden; Rev. Samuel A. Williams, president Orange branch; Rev. Elias S. Hardge, president New Jersey state conference of branches; Mrs. C. W. Downey, Montclair branch; Rev. Matthew E. Neil, president Atlantic City branch; Charles Williams, Trenton branch; S. H. Woodson, Trenton branch; New York: James E. Allen, president New York state conference; Lindsay H. White, president New York branch; Herbert T. Miller, Brooklyn; Rev. Joshua E. Licorish, Interdenominational Ministers of Greater New York; Rev. C. Asapansa Johnson, president of Interdenominational Ministers of Greater New York; Pernall Byrd, Buffalo branch; Guy R. Brewer, chairman legislative committee Jamaica branch; S. S. Browne, Staten Island NAACP; North Carolina: Kelly M. Alexander, president North Carolina state conference branches.

Ohio: Elsie Austin, Cincinnati branch; Rev. Granville W. Reed, Jr., president Dayton branch; Pennsylvania: James K. Baker, president Bryn Mawr branch; Edward D. Porter, Jr., Pittsburgh branch; Mrs. Jeanne S. Scott, president Pittsburgh branch; Henry S. Brogden, Philadelphia branch; Dr. Burrell K. Johnson, president Johnstown branch; Tennessee: Mrs. Edmonia Grant, Memphis, NCNW.

Texas: John Jay Jones, president Texas state conference of branches; Donald Jones, southwest regional secretary; Dr. L. E. Smith, Houston branch; National office: Walter White, secretary NAACP; Henry Lee Moon, director of publicity; Gloster B. Current, director of branches; Walter P. Offutt, Jr., church secretary; Leslie S. Perry, Washington bureau; and Clarence Mitchell, labor secretary.

Anti-Segregation Travel Bill: At the request of the NAACP, Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D.-Wash.) has introduced a bill designed to prohibit the segregation of passengers in interstate travel.

Congressional action is being urged on grounds that railroads and other

Acme

THIRTY-FOURTH *Spingarn medalist, Dr. Ralph Johnson Bunche. Head of the department of political science at Howard, Dr. Bunche was first on leave to the State Department, from where he went to the trusteeship division of UN. With the assassination of Folke Bernadotte, he moved up from head of the UN secretariat of the Palestine commission to acting mediator.*

interstate carriers have been taking advantage of a loophole in the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Irene Morgan case which failed to prohibit companies from making and enforcing jim crow regulations.

The Magnuson bill, which would outlaw segregation in trains, buses, dining cars and railroad station restaurants serving interstate passengers, has been referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Similar bills have been introduced in the House by Reps. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. and Isidore Dollinger, both Democrats of New York.

SPINGARN MEDAL

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, acting United Nations mediator in the Middle East, has been awarded the 34th Spingarn Medal.

Dr. Bunche is cited "for his priceless contribution to the settlement of armed conflict in the Middle East and his enduring patience, industry, courage and selflessness in attaining that goal," as well as for his work as director of the trusteeship division of the United Nations.

The medal, established in 1914 by the late J. E. Spingarn, longtime official of the NAACP, is given annually to the American Negro deemed to have made "the highest achievement during the preceding year or years in any honorable field of human endeavor." It is awarded by vote of a committee of nine.

Formal presentation to Dr. Bunche will be on July 17 at the NAACP 40th annual conference in Los Angeles, Calif. The complete text of the citation reads:

"In a strife-torn, war-conscious world, the attainment of peace is a major achievement for which the peoples of all nations may give abundant thanks. Achievement of this objective through painstaking and skillful negotiation and mediation in an area of ancient and bitter racial, national and religious conflicts, renews man's faith in his fellowman, gives rise to new hope for permanent world peace and confirms the role of international peacemaker as man's noblest profession.

"For his distinguished scholarship in the Myrdal study, his aid in fashioning

VICE-PRESIDENT *Mary Ellen Quarles of the Cambridge, Ohio, youth council. Miss Quarles is a junior at the Central high school.*

sections of the United Nations charter at San Francisco, his painstaking efforts as director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division, but principally for his priceless contribution to the settlement of armed conflict in the Middle East, and his enduring patience, industry, courage and selflessness in attaining that goal, the Spingarn Medal, awarded annually to a Negro American for distinguished achievement, is herewith presented to Ralph J. Bunche, brilliant scholar, acting United Nations Mediator in Palestine, faithful international civil servant, and successful practitioner of man's noblest profession."

MISCELLANEOUS

Life Member: Dr. Cyrus Harreld Karraker, assistant professor of history of Bucknell university, has become a life member of the NAACP. Dr. Karraker took out his $500 membership through the Bucknell NAACP chapter, which he was instrumental in organizing in 1945 and to which he has served as adviser since that time.

In a letter to Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP youth secretary, Dr. Karraker expressed his pleasure at making the contribution to the Association and stated, "Working for the NAACP is the sort of thing that means real happiness."

Accepts Citation: In expressing its gratification for the John D. Russwurm citation bestowed upon the NAACP by the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, the Committee on Administration of the NAACP passed a resolution reaffirming the Association's resolve to continue the fight for civil rights and expressing appreciation for the cooperation of the Negro press in this program.

The text of the NNPA citation is as follows:

"The Negro Newspaper Publishers Association's Russwurm Award is proudly presented to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in recognition of outstanding achievement in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles, and in tribute for upholding those highest traditions considered in the ideals of the American way of life."

CYRUS H. KARRAKER, *of Bucknell university, new life member of the NAACP.*

What the Branches Are Doing

CALIFORNIA: The youth council of the SAN FRANCISCO branch is a long ways on its extensive 1949 program to stimulate the cultural life of minorities and to a stamp out local racial discrimination.

The council has entered a squad in the city basketball league for the first time; and has begun publication of a four-sheet mimeographed bulletin which is distributed at every meeting for convenience of the membership and friends. The labor and industrial committee of the council has requested and received a clarification of the policies of the Southern Pacific Railway's accommodation for Negroes, and has completed plans to rout the lily-white employment policies of the San Francisco branches of the Bank of America.

NORTH CAROLINA: Big birthday month for the CHAPEL HILL branch was February, because it marked the first anniversary of the local branch (February 9) and the fortieth anniversary of the national organization (February 12). Nucleus of the present branch began to operate about a year and a half ago, on September 5, 1947, to be exact, when Dr. Elizabeth Young, formerly of Durham, got together a group in preparation for seeking the one hundred members necessary for a charter. First permanent president of the branch was A. D. Clark. Hubert Robinson was vice-president; Ruth P. Pope, secretary; Mrs. Ruby Jones, assistant secretary; and Luther Edwards, treasurer.

Many successful projects have been carried out by the branch. Funds were raised for the Fellowship of Reconciliation to be used in fighting the Chapel Hill "bus case"; street lights and pavements were requested for certain local streets, and obtained; and groundwork was laid to get fair Negro representation on the Chapel Hill recreation commission.

Present branch officers are Henry J. Edwards, president; Vincent Cassidy, vice-president; Mrs. Irene E. Jackson, secretary; Aubrey Williams, assistant secretary; and A. D. Clark, treasurer.

NEW YORK: Benjamin Morrell, seven-year president of the MAMARONECK branch was honored by about 200 members of the organization, civic and church leaders, and friends at a testimonial dinner on February 24 given in the Barry Avenue AME Zion church.

In acknowledging tributes from a score or more speakers, Mr. Morrell said, "I am very glad to have had the opportunity to do the things I have wanted to do for a great many years."

"There was a need for a branch of the NAACP in Mamaroneck," Mr. Morrell added, "and in helping to start it, I hoped to make a contribution, not just to our own people, but to all the people of the community.

"It's not just what happens in the South. It's what we do here to help alleviate these conditions. We are trying to do a constructive piece of work without a belligerent attitude."

Brodnax

BANQUET *of the membership committee of the Middlesex, Va., branch held on February 4 in the Middlesex training school at Stormont. Chartered thirteen years ago, the branch has been a consistent leader in rural branch memberships.*

The speaker went on to acknowledge the help and inspiration he had received from the members and friends of the branch, mentioning especially the support which the churches and *The Daily Times* had given him.

The dinner, with J. Opie Hagens as toastmaster, opened with his introduction by Police Chief Arthur Martensen, who extended his congratulations to the branch and to Mr. and Mrs. Morrell. Dinner was preceded by a blessing by the Rev. Arnold Fenton, rector of St. Thomas Episcopal church, after which Mrs. Joseph Robinson, secretary, read messages and telegrams from the Rev. Floyd E. McGuire, Councilman George Mills Jr.; Mr. and Mrs. F. Warren Green and William J. McWilliams, all of Larchmont; Rabbi Irving Koslowe, Mayor J. B. Santoro, Village Manager William H. Johnson, and Arthur Dunn, Jr., of Mamaroneck.

The Rev. C. F. A. Kirton, pastor of the Barry Avenue AME Zion church, introduced as "the friendly minister in a friendly village," added his personal greetings.

Rev. Thomas Garland of the First Baptist church described the Morrells as good neighbors, good friends and good leaders.

Everett Houghton spoke about Ben Morrell the good scoutmaster, and mentioned the role which his troop had played in Mamaroneck Boy Scouting. Mr. Hagens also made the point that the youth of the town had much for which to thank Mr. Morrell, and wished that there were a few more "Bens" to spread around.

H. Richmond Campbell, editor and general manager of *The Daily Times*, spoke of the NAACP and its president in their relations with the press.

Stating that the Mamaroneck Branch has won public attention through the press consistently because it "is an organization which does things; which is a constructive force in the community," Mr. Campbell added, "an active organization makes news and that is why you have been making the headlines."

"Under Mr. Morrell's talented leadership," he said, "the NAACP has forged ahead to an enviable position among the other organizations working for the good of all the people of this Friendly Village. Mr. Morrell's influence extends far beyond the borders of his own neighborhood."

TENNESSEE: Newly elected officers of the JOHNSON CITY branch are Rev. S. S. Hodges, president; Mrs. Hattie Birdswell, vice-president; Mrs. Christina Naff, secretary; M. E. Richardson, assistant secretary; and William Owen, treasurer.

SOUTH CAROLINA: On February 20 the BEAUFORT branch participated in a meeting held in the Grace AME church sponsored by the faculty of the Robert Smalls high school. W. Kent Alston, principal of the high school, was the speaker for the occasion, speaking from the subject "The NAACP: What it is and What it Does." One feature of the program was a forum discussion of the home, church, and school as effective agencies of the community.

What the Regions Are Doing

SOUTHWEST: The TEXAS council of Negro organizations, made up of thirty-one statewide organizations, including the Texas State NAACP, met in Austin on February 18 and presented Recorder of Deeds Marshall Sheppard of Washington, D.C. as principal speaker at a mass meeting.

Main purpose of the TCNO meeting, however, which lasted all day, was to develop a program of action for an attack on discrimination and segregation in the state from every conceivable angle: civil rights, housing, labor, agriculture and so on. Also out of this program of action, which is being parcelled out to the various organizations for them to work on, will be drafted bills shortly to be presented to the Texas legislature. A lobbying committee, chaired by J. H. Morton of Austin, will help to get these measures introduced and, if possible, pushed through the legislature. President and moving spirit of the TCNO is Dr. Joseph J. Rhoads of Bishop college.

Among those representing the NAACP at the Austin meeting were A. Maceo Smith, state secretary; U. S. Tate, regional special counsel; and the regional secretary.

Daily Times

LEADER HONORED—*In February the Mamaroneck, N. Y., branch paid tribute to its president, Benjamin Morrell. Mr. Morrell (left), who served for seven years as branch president, is shaking hands with Opie Hagans, master of ceremonies. Mrs. Morrell stands at Mr. Hagans' left.*

When a Negro sits on a jury in Upshur county, Texas, that's news. Because Upshur county is in East Texas, and East Texas has never been known for its generous attitude toward the Negro.

The other day J. M. Floyd, strong NAACP worker in his town of Gladewater, made news by sitting on the grand jury in Gilmer, seat of Upshur county. Mr. Floyd deserves particular credit, because he had to stand up like a real man to exercise his right to do jury duty. One after another officials and hangers-on at the court house tried to make him leave without serving when he presnted himself for duty, but he stubbornly insisted on staying to see the judge. Even the judge asked him if he didn't have an excuse not to serve, to which he replied that he had no excuse, and that he was determined to serve unless the judge himself insjsted on excusing him. This the judge declined to do, so Mr. Floyd served for two days, marking the first time a Negro had ever become a member of the grand jury in Upshur county.

The Albuquerque branch, teaming up with other liberal organizations including both CIO and AFL labor unions, is waging a vigorous and well-conceived fight to push civil rights measures through the New Mexico legislature.

According to Hobart L. LaGrone, extremely capable Albuquerque branch president who is directing the pro-civil rights activities, the separate proposed bills comprising the civil rights package include specific measures dealing with school segregation, which currently is optional with school boards; segregation in places of public accommodation, and fair employment legislation.

The FEPC measure, SB 45, has already been introduced in the Senate. As proposed, this measure calls for creation of an FEPC commission of five members, two of whom—the state attorney general and the state labor commissioner—are to be elected officers; the other three appointed by the governor. Mr. LaGrone advises that "this measure has a good chance of passing in the Senate. We expect to run into our greatest difficulty in the House of Representatives."

The bill dealing with public school segregation, HB 198, was introduced in the House with five sponsors, and "is really an amendment to the school code which in effect deletes the clause setting up the authority for segregated schools," says Mr. LaGrone. The public facilities bill HB 196, sponsored by three members of the House, calls for making unlawful the practice of "segregation in places of public service or accommodation."

TEXARKANA, TEXAS: Work with respect to filing suit for equal educational opportunities and facilities at Texarkana is moving in good order. On February 11, we visited Texarkana and made an outside inspection of facilities. The comparison between buildings and grounds at schools for Negroes and whites is an unfortunate one. The high school for Negro children is located in a slum area, the buildings are of poor construction and in bad physicial condition. The grade schools are distinctly inferior in every respect. There is an educational center for white children. On land area that equals approximately four city blocks combined there is a junior college, a high school and a junior high school. Adjacent to these is an athletic field. In connection with these three institutions, there is a separate building for band and other music subjects and a separate building for various activities and industrial arts. There are ample tennis courts, volley ball courts and other areas for outside play. The contrast between physical facilities for Negroes and whites is striking.

Mr. John Jay Jones of that city is now collecting parties and other materials in preparation for filing suit. We hope to file suit during the month of March.

WINNSBORO, TEXAS: There is in this office all of the parties and information necessary to file suit at Winnsboro. Attorney Otto Mullinax, a white attorney in Dallas, comes from Winnsboro, which is a backwod section of the state. He is interested in the situation at Winnsboro and we have offered to use him as principal counsel in the matter. We believe that it will have good effect in the community.

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS: During the month we have made two trips to Fort Smith for conferences and inspection. The morale of the people is high. The board of education is now processing the ground to begin the construction of an elementary school. Some, but not many of the Negro citizens are advocating an out of court adjustment in the matter. By and large the great majority of the Negro citizens in that community are resolute in their determination to carry this matter to satisfactory solution, regardless of the time, cost or effort. This office is prepared to go all the way with them.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA is getting deeper and deeper in the hole, trying to decide what to do with the Negroes who just keep quietly marching up to its doors asking for education. A few months ago Mrs. Mauderie Hancock Wilson and Mrs. Opal Daniels applied for graduate work in the field of education and were admitted, but it was announced that in the classroom they would have to sit apart from their fellow white students as well as eat separately and study separately. At the same time another applicant, Mrs. Thelma Motley was neither turned down nor admitted. She was left up in the air, and the reason was because the state officials themselves were up in the air. Mrs. Motley wants to study pharmacy, which is an under-graduate course; therefore state officials say no; they can't admit Mrs. Motley. But Mrs. Motley is already a college graduate, and besides pharmacy is not offered at Langston University; therefore state officials say yes, Mrs. Motley ought to be admitted.

THE GOOD PEOPLE of Fort Smith, Arkansas, are pushing right ahead with their law suit against the school board seeking equal educational opportunities for their children. Here is how wholeheartedly they are lining up behind their courageous and vigorous branch president, S. R. Rutledge. On February 10 a mass meeting was called by the Fort Smith branch, at which the regional special counsel, U. S. Tate, and the regional secretary were the speakers. Despite the fact that Mr. Rutledge and his faithful fellow workers had only five days' notice to drum up the meeting, 150 people flocked into the church, and in a public collection they "planked" $73.25 on the table to help support their case.

ON TO CALIFORNIA!

40th Annual Conference of the NAACP will meet in Los Angeles, California, July 12-17, 1949.

"On the Beam" With Youth Councils

The third annual NAACP youth legislative conference will convene at Howard university, Washington, D. C., on April 20. Registration will begin on Wednesday morning, April 20, and the opening meeting will be held that evening. On Thursday, April 21, delegates will participate in business and discussion sessions. At the Thursday night mass meeting there will be outstanding speakers and entertainment. Among the speakers will be Charles H. Houston, attorney; Leslie Perry, of the Washington bureau of the NAACP; George Weaver, of the CIO; and Gloster Current, director of branches, NAACP.

On Friday, April 22, all delegates will go to the Capitol where they will confer with congressional party leaders and with their respective senators and representatives. After a period of recapitulation and summarization, recommendations will be made for continuing action at the closing session on Saturday, April 23.

Book Reviews

RACE AND CLASS

***Negros En El Nuevo Mundo.* Por Roberto Mac-Lean y Estenós. Lima, Peru: Editorial P.T.C.M., 1948. 158pp. S/o15.00 ($1.10.)**

***Le Problème Des Classes à Travers L'Histoire D'Haiti.* Par Lorimer Denis et Dr. François Duvalier. Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Au Service de la Jeunesse, 1948. XII+128pp.**

Sr. Mac-Lean's *Negroes in the New World* has merit though nothing novel either in interpretation or facts. However, a few of his facts are not widely known. That until modern times slavery had no identification with any specific race. That Negroes were brought to Europe as slaves as early as 1442, almost a half century before the discovery of America. That by 1458 Antonio de la Nola had a "Negro factory" in the Cape Verde islands, and that the first Negro slaves were introduced into Hispaniola soon after the discovery through the royal *cédula* of 1501, issued by *los Reyes Católicos.* Sugar cane was imported five years later and the demand for slaves increased by leaps and bounds. The only restriction the Spanish Crown placed upon the trade at the time was that the Negroes be brought from Christian and not infidel countries.

Negroes, however, were not acclimatizable in all latitudes, but chiefly in those American zones which presented geographical and meteorological similarities with the parts of Africa from which they had come. This explains the rapid adaptation of the Negro to Cuba, Brazil, and Mexico. In both Mexico and Peru Negroes did not thrive in the altiplano.

There were roughly three slave systems in the Americas — the Anglo-American, the French, and the Luso-Spanish—characterized by the ways of these nationalities with the Negro. Because of early and continuous contact with Negroes, the Spaniards and Portuguese had built up a body of tradition and law as to how to handle them. The Anglo-Americans and the French on the other hand had not. Hence the degrees of mildness and harshness, if there can be degrees of mollification in an institution like chattel slavery, beween the Luso-Spaniards on the one hand and the Anglo-English on the other. The French fall somewhere between these two.

Contemporary problems of the Negro in the New World arise, of course, out of these antecedent conditions, and they are discussed by our author in considerable detail country by country. Negro contributions to the cultures of the Americas are cited, with especial attention to such areas as literature, the arts, religion, and linguistics. Chapters are also devoted to race prejudice, segregation, and lynching in the United States. And a terminal chapter discusses the Negro in Peru. Present population of Peru is over six million people, but only about twenty-nine thousand of the people are Negroes.

Since Haiti is a "Negro" country, the "black republic," she is not supposed to have a color problem. Any such belief, however, is pure myth, for Haiti has a color problem which is in many ways just as provocative and irritating as our own. This "irritating question of color," which under the old Haitian formula is supposed to be thought about but never mentioned, is the subject of

Brodnax

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS *attending the policy and planning meeting of the Virginia State Conference in Stormont, Va., on January 16. Seated (L. to R.): Mrs. Esther I. Cooper, Mrs. Bernice Ewing, secretary Loudon county branch; Mrs. Sadie D. Wyche, Dr. Luther P. Jackson, advisor to youth councils and college chapters in Virginia; Mrs. Marie H. Medley, assistant secretary; Mrs. Lula Robinson-Jones, Mrs. J. S. Carrington, and Mrs. Harriett Jordan. Standing (L. to R.): W. Lester Banks, executive secretary; Waverly B. Lockett, J. S. Carrington, Dr. S. F. Coppage, treasurer; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president; Dr. E. B. Henderson, vice-president; Thomas Wyche, president East Southampton county branch; C. Clayborne Bush, and Hon. Oliver W. Hill, chairman of the state legal staff.*

Messers. Denis and Duvalier's *The Class Problem in Haitian History.*

In Haiti, for historical reasons, which our authors are careful to document, color and class lines coincide. The elite, numbering probably about two hundred thousand out of a total population of three and a half million, have a common status and unity of interest among its members based upon color, monopoly of the better positions, education, and observation of the proprieties, which happen to be largely those of France. They are in the main descendants of the old *affranchis,* free mulattoes and blacks, but mostly mulattoes, who prior to the Haitian revolution owned almost one third of the land and one fourth of all the slaves.

The masses on the other hand are black, illiterate, poverty-stricken; their proprieties are basically of African derivation with a dash of French. Stronghold of the mulattoes is the south; of the blacks, the north. Therefore there are sectional differences to compound those of class and color.

"Epidermic politics" in Haiti, to use the authors' phrase, dates from the time of the rivalry between the mulatto Rigaud and Toussaint Louverture. The elite even when not occupying the seat of government has, nevertheless, always dominated Haitian life. Selfishly narrow in outlook they have naturally exercised their power in their own interests, ignoring for the most part the vast peasant majority. Until recent years the elite had done very little, except on paper, to improve the condition of the masses of citizens. Although the *coup de main* of January, 1946, brought the blacks back into political power, the old divisions between the light-complexioned *moune faux-col* or big shots and the black *vié moune* or nobodies still exist to plague this little republic.

J. W. I.

ARNA BONTEMPS (*left*) *and* **LANGSTON HUGHES** *as they prepared their anthology* "The Poetry of the Negro." *This collection of the work of and about Negroes is the first in a decade.*

COMPREHENSIVE ANTHOLOGY

***The Poetry of the Negro.* By Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps. New York: Doubleday, 1949, 422pp. $5.00.**

In *The Poetry of the Negro,* Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps have brought together the most comprehensive collection of poetry by and about Negroes yet published. The volume includes poems by American Negroes, by non-Negroes of England and America, and by writers from the Carribean and Africa. It thus covers a wider scope than any other anthology of its kind. It has a rather brief introduction explaining the basis of selection, the point of view of the editors in eliminating certain types of poetry usually included in anthologies of this sort, the varying attitudes toward race which account for certain differences of poetic expression in the Carribean and the United States, and the reason for difference of arrangement in different sections of the book. At the end there are a series of brief biographical sketches of all the writers represented in the text.

The editors have brought within easy grasp a goodly number of poets of several nations whose work has not heretofore been easily available to the average reader. This is especially true of poets of the Carribean, whose works have been neglected despite our good neighbor policy. They have even brought to light Lucy Terry, about whom few students of American literature have heard, and a goodly number of younger American writers who are little known or who are just beginning to earn a place for themselves. Much of this one might expect from Hughes and Bontemps, both of whom are poets and one of whom by reason of his globe-trotting would be familiar with poets of other nations and races.

Perhaps the most striking thing about the volume is its representation of universal attitudes and feelings of people toward human relationships. Almost every type of reaction from Blake's symbolical "Little Black Boy" to Elizabeth Barrett Browning's crusading "Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point" to the exotic and almost hypnotic moods of blues in the minor key is included. This wide variety of feelings, of attitudes, of ideas gives the reader more than a good sample of the output of poets who have been interested in the Negro from 1746 to 1949.

Another excellent feature of the book is that in format, in type, and in texture of paper it surpasses most books of its kind at the price for which it is offered.

All this is not to say that the book does not lack some things which one might wish for in such a collection. It has no critical sketches about writers as individuals or as groups whose major interests are traceable, nor does it have an arrangement by types or movements or any other scheme which would lend itself to relatively easy treatment by students of literature excepting those already familiar with the field. Despite the explanation of the editors' in the introduction, the book has at least one serious omission, that of folk poetry. This is serious because folk literature has already been too much neglected; and, moreover, to give representative poems of certain authors necessarily implies inclusion of this aspect of their work.

Since *The Poetry of the Negro* is in most ways a fine collection it does something which the editors might not have anticipated: it breaks ground for a substantial collection of poetry of Americans without reference to race. Here in one volume is much of the material which might be included in a truly representative anthology of American literature without special emphasis on race, creed, or color, a collection which, if put into American schools generally, might do much to alter prejudices. Whether the book gives impetus to this highly desirable end or not, it will be valuable for teachers of literature and their students and a source of enjoyment to all who read it.

ARTHUR E. BURKE

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Joseph

MEMBERS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE *of San Francisco, Calif., youth council mapping plans for 1949. Front row (L. to R.): Adolphus Thomas, press and publicity; Morris Jackson, first vice-president; Barbara Jackson, secretary; Orville Luster, president; Bernard Howell, treasurer. Back row: Clarance Hubbard, membership chairman; Mary McClain, membership secretary; Warren Malveaux, sergeant-at-arms. Several members of committee not present in this picture.*

IN BRIEF

A Business Primer for Negroes. **By William K. Bell. New York: William K. Bell Publications, P. O. Box 308, College Station, 1948. XVIII+198pp. $2.50.**

This little book fills the need of the small Negro business man for a down-to-earth practical guide to the many problems confronting the entrepreneur. In twenty chapters Mr. Bell discusses such problems as courtesy, good management, agriculture, credit unions, cooperatives, and independent stores versus the chains. How to put his small capital to the most effective use, how to win and hold patronage, and how to avoid the pitfalls of small business are frankly discussed by the author. Negro business has many weaknesses, some stemming from its smallness, others from the incompetence and lack of general business know-how on the part of its owners, weaknesses which are faced frankly in this book. Each chapter is followed by a series of discussion questions designed to bring into focus the central idea.

PREMIERE OF "TROUBLED ISLAND"

The second week of the New York City Opera Company's 1949-spring season featured the world premiere of William Grant Still's "Troubled Island," the debuts of four young singers —three Americans and one Cuban. Irma Gonzalez, young Mexican soprano, sang her first Mimi since her return to the Company.

"Troubled Island," by William Grant Still, with libretto by Langston Hughes, was presented for the first time anywhere on Thursday evening, March 31. The four-act opera—highlight of the Company's fifth anniversary—has four stage settings and requires large orchestra, chorus and ballet. "Troubled Island" was inspired by the story of Jean Jacques Dessalines,

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the slave who became known in history as the founder of Haitian Independence. Dessalines defeated and expelled the French from Haiti, thereby blocking Napoleon's invasion of our country through Louisiana.

Heading the distinguished cast was Robert Weede, the American baritone, heard in the role of the Haitian liberator, Marie Powers, contralto, created the role of Azelia, his faithful slave wife, and Helena Bliss, soprano, that of Claire, the glamorous mistress whom he made his Empress. Oscar Natzka sang the role of Martel, confidante and good friend of Dessalines. His traitorous generals, Vuvio and Steno, were performed by Richard Charles and Arthur Newman. Helena Bliss and Richard Charles made their New York City Opera debuts in this performance.

The ballets in "Troubled Island" were supplied by the New York City Ballet Company under the artistic direction of George Balanchine.

The native dances were performed by Jean Leon Destiné, distinguished Haitian dancer-singer-lecturer, and his troupe of six dancers and two drummers. The choreography was by Destiné, in collaboration with Balanchine and Eugene Bryden, the stage director for the production. Destiné is known to New York audiences for his work as soloist in Katherine Dunham's revue "Bal Nègre," and his appearances at several large New York night clubs. He has toured the country with Dunham and has appeared as soloist with Pearl Primus.

Laszlo conducted the performance, and production was staged by Eugene Bryden, who returned to the company after an absence of two and a half years. The settings and costumes were executed by H. A. Condell.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS IN THE CONNECTICUT GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Nine bills designed to outlaw various types of discrimination and one to require human relations courses in the schools have been introduced in the current session of the Connecticut General Assembly. Four of these bills have been introduced in both houses. Dates of the public hearings on the bills will be announced in the Legislative Bulletin issued at the State Capitol which lists committee hearings each Tuesday.

Filmstrips & Discussion

(Continued from page 115)

ing pot idea and emphasizes the advantages of our differences.

Man—One Family 40 frames. Cartoons and Photographs. Adapted from Professor Julian Huxley's film of the same name. A popular anthropological approach to the fact that there is no such thing as a pure race—that every nation and even every individual has many mixed bloods—that abilities cannot be measured by comparing mythical group "averages." Poses questions for discussion on opportunity in housing, jobs, health facilities in each community; calls for equal opportunities for all Americans so that the best of their individual abilities may be brought out.

Forward All Together 82 frames. Photographs and cartoons. Council Against Intolerance in America. Investigates the forms of discrimination in America such as Jim Crow practices, white supremacy, lynchings, etc. and the reasons behind them: ignorance, indifference, greed, fear, the desire to feel superior. Shows how such practices lead to the destruction of democracy and gives examples of what we can do about eradicating them.

The American Negro 49 frames. Photographs. Pictures the specific results of the South's "White Supremacy" policy; the northern migration; limitations in the North on living conditions, jobs, etc.; examples of Negro achievement in all fields; poses question of how the vast reservoir of Negro skills and intelligence can be used to their fullest, and the challenge to American ideals of freedom and equality.

No matter what type of visual aid is employed, it has failed to achieve its purpose if the subject is considered settled when the end-title apears. The highly dramatic movie, for instance, may fail to have any lasting effect if the audience sees its characters as personalities who have no relationship or identification with themselves and their actions. "That may work *there*, but our town is different," sums up this attitude. A great deal of research and study is still needed on how concepts of brotherhood, tolerance, and other positive attitudes can be visualized most effectively.

Furthermore it is up to the discussion leader to take up where the filmstrip or film leaves off. No visual medium can do the job by itself. We need more wholesale training clinics for discussion leaders such as the Adult Education Council of New York City provides. As an aid to this goal a filmstrip illustrating the most widely accepted discussion techniques is now in preparation in cooperation with the League of Women Voters.

Whether we are furthering better race relations or freer world trade, nation wide problem-solving discussion groups are an important step toward achieving our aim.

South African Riots

(Continued from page 111)

found a single friend of the white man," says the influential Cape Town *Argus*. "The white man no longer enjoys the confidence of the races over whom he rules."

Europeans to Blame

Whatever may be the findings of the official commission of inquiry, the Durban municipal authorities cannot escape moral responsibility for the conditions which provided the social explosive to the riots. They have done less than any other South African city authorities to provide housing and other social amenities for their black population. According to the Broome Commission Report, published in March 1948, there were 23,000 Africans living in shacks under conditions that, in the words of the report, constitute "to the health of all races in and around Durban, a deadly menace which must be removed at once."

The Commission also reported that the infant mortality rate among Africans is about the highest in the world. The Africans are riddled with T.B., Amoebic dysentry, and V.D. Not a house has been built, not a clinic opened for the blacks since the publication of the Broome report. Social conditions such as those exposed by the Commission are turning the Africans into a nation of Bigger Thomases.

The South African Color bar system, the most cruel caste system in all the world, permeates every aspect of life. It gives rise to the most cruel forms of political oppression, social repression, and economic exploitation. It enables a white minority of two million British and Dutch settlers to exercise dominion over eight million unarmed Africans.

The black man in South Africa is a slave in his own country. He is the helot of the helots. The tragedy of the human race. He is deprived of any possibility of developing his potentialities, has no scope for his energies. He is doomed to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water for others. His children are without a future. His whole life is one of thwarted emotions which find relief in drink. It is not surprising, therefore, that his pent-up frustrations, seeking an outlet, should burst out in riots directed against another surppressed group. But why should Africans hate Indians when they, too, suffer many of the same indignities?

Although the overwhelming majority of the 250,000 Indians in the Union are poor, mostly agricultural workers on sugar plantations, the upper class Indians tend to monopolize the retail trade in the non-European areas. Like the Jews, they are feared and hated by their competitors. The Europeans have made harsh laws to confine them to Asiatic ghettos and African locations. Under the Pegging and Asiatic Land Tenure Acts, placed on the statute book by that great "liberal" Jan Smuts, Indians are forbidden from owning property or operating business in areas designated "European."

Unable to compete on equal terms with white men, the Indian capitalists resort to dishonest commercial practices, and since the bulk of their customers are African, a constant source of friction is created between the Indian seller and the African customer. Furthermore, like all oriental trading classes in foreign lands (Syrians in West Africa and the West Indies, Chinese in South East Asia and the Pacific, and Jews everywhere) the Indian merchants and moneylenders in South Africa are a closely knit community. Since they are "contained" by the white man, they see to it that the Africans are kept out of trade, commerce, and public transport operations. The Indians achieve this by bribing European officials to grant them trading licences and other business facilities in the non-European areas, at the expense of African ex-servicemen who desire to start businesses of their own.

"Keep the Indian cats and African dogs in the same cage together and let them fight over the crumbs from the white man's table," say the Malanites.

There has been particular jealousy over the transport question. On many routes where most of the passengers are Africans, even on routes through the Native Reserves—Indians have got in first, in the days when the Zulus had not thought of running buses. Having established their vested interests, they have opposed applications by African bus owners to the Road Transportation Board to run over these routes, often with success. When Africans protest against discrimination in favor of wealthy Indians, white business men who fear Indian competition finance politicians to agitate against them.

Thanks to the Indians' selfish business methods and their snobbishness and airs of superiority over the Africans, the Europeans have cleverly exploited the feelings of the Africans in their vile and shocking anti-Indian campaign. The white racebaiter taught the Africans that the Indian traders were to blame for their poverty and misery and that they, too, should boycott Indians.

"Take over the trade now in the hands of the Indians and build up prosperity amongst your own people," they were told. Such talk was grist to the mill of the Africans seeking business careers.

Senator Edgar Brookes, one of the four white men elected by the Africans to "represent" them in the South African Parliament, has blamed the politicians of all parties for the events in Durban. "Few realize how profundly speeches addressed to European audiences with European political objects affect the unseen, silent, and far vaster non-European audiences without."

South Africa is already reaping the first crop of racial hatred sown by the white man.

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON RIOTS

Readers of Mr. Padmore's article on the Durban riots will be interested in these two excerpted editorials from South African "native" papers. The *Ilanga Lase Natal*, of Natal, though printed in a native language, is actually owned by liberal-minded Europeans and is therefore more likely to mirror liberal European rather than native opinion.

We present excerpts from their January 22, 1949, editorial, "How Long, O Lord!":

The inevitable has happened. The flood has burst out. Much damage has been done. Many places lie waste and desolate. Some people mourn and will not be comforted. There is fear, shock and confusion. There is hate, the nursing of wounds and a fatal desire for revenge. Although the main onslaught of the storm has passed, there are rumblings of discontent, uncertainty and a savage desire to hurt. People continue to be assaulted and killed indescriminately.

If what has taken place is tragic, sudden and regretable, it is not surprising nor was it unexpected by unprejudiced, honest and well informed observers and students of our racially corrupted society. The whole grim business was logical, simple and inevitable. It need not be dramatised and sensationalised or the issues confused. Thus while we regret the happenings and extended our sympathy to the innocent Africans and Indians who have been, and still might be victims—for there is a spirit of hate and revenge abroad—of the racial wave, it is our duty to state the facts simply and truly.

Economic Factors:

The tragedy is the result of many years of African grievances, exploitation, suffering, frustration and despondency. It is a well known if unpalatable fact that many Indian business men use unfair and immoral business methods. Haggling and downright fleecing of Africans is the order of the day, and has been going on for decades. Of recent years the position has been made worse by universal blackmarketing among Indians who deal with Africans. This has caused great suffering and resentment in the African community. When Africans apply for the various business licenses to serve, not Europeans and Indians, but their own people, the Indians have always done everything, fair and foul, to prevent them.

Litigation and the stopping of sources of good supplies are some of their stock methods. The position is aggravated by the fact that the law, the procedure and some officials favor the Indians. In the Reserves and exclusively or predominently African areas, Indians want to have their stores and buses only, and work bitterly to oust the African. And because, as we said, the scales are loaded in their favor, they usually succeed. Yet no race can serve another adequately.

Because of the appalling situation in the housing of Africans and the provisions of the Urban Areas Laws that no African may own property in the urban areas (except in a place like Clermont Township), thousands of Africans rent rooms and shacks owned by Indians. The immorally high rents—in fact it is sheer extortion—the Indian landlords charge have caused bitterness among the Africans who have no choice in the matter. As the same laws make Africans illegal tenants anywhere but in locations, they can be victimized freely or be ejected at the pleasure of the landlord—and the Rent Board cannot intervene. It is the same with Indian taxis who have the monopoly of this business and can charge what they like. To add to the African's sense of frustration and humiliation, some Europeans give better paid billets to Indians purely on racial grounds. This is true even of the Government services. (Recently Indians were employed at the Central Post Office to serve Africans when there are scores of qualified Africans available). And in some cases Indians are given positions of authority over Africans for the simple reason that they are Indians. Even in such a delicate and serious matter as justice, we find Indian interpreters still being used in some court cases and in some Police Stations.

Social and Racial:

Now it happens that the very Indians who oppose to the bitter end those Africans who desire to run their own buses, stores and cinema houses, behave with nauseating adolescent arrogance, superiority, patronage and even brutal insult to African customers and patrons. Where they can they segregate them. Where they cannot, they insult and humiliate them. Their economic success, their better rights under South African laws (they do not carry passes or live in locations, etc.), and their vaunted connection with "the mighty, free and cultured Mother-India" are always dangled before even the most tolerant, gifted and educated African as proof of their superiority. The illiterate African tribesmen are constantly and publicly jeered at and taken as a criterion for judging the whole African race as if there are no illiterates, beggars and worse in India.

The moral attitude of some Indian men towards African women is shocking to say the least. (It would be unfair and inflammatory to refer to Katherine Mayo's "Mother India" although one cannot help recalling its contents). They associate with African women openly! This incenses the most humble and even some of the most advanced, "I-know-it-is-the-system-and-not-the-Indian-as-such" Africans. While they do this, they mock at the women and defy the men. In their residential quarters, social and public institutions they do not want the African, but they gate-crush African institutions and locations. For instance, Indian students go to Fort Hare and hold vacation courses at Adams College, but Sastri College is taboo to Africans.

There have even been protests that Indians should be segregated and given better treatment in prisons—which is tantamount to saying a felon and a thief is better than another felon and thief if his skin is different!

The fact that the trouble spread with such amazing rapidity proves how universal and profound were these grievances and feeling among Africans. In the past upheavals and even carefully planned strikes have not been as serious and widespread because the grievances were not so universal and so deep.

Law and System

Despite these and other pinpricks that deeply affect the day to day relations between Africans and Indians many educated and tolerant Africans know that the main cause —the root cause—is our laws and system based as these are on racial discrimination and the subtle method of keeping the various racial groups divided and antagonistic. The Indians do not carry passes, live in locations and have no curfew. No policeman has the right to accost them when and where he likes and demand poll tax and other documents. They are allowed to buy property in the urban areas. They can obtain liquor in the bars. They do not need the Governor-General's consent to get a business license or an exemption. They are not legislated for by proclamation and have no special Department for their affairs and their control. Recently Durban was zoned between them and the Europeans.

In these and other ways our laws and system give them not only better rights, but a sense of superiority and snobbishness over the African. They would be more than human not to use—or abuse—this situation to their advantage and to the exploitation and humiliation of the African. And, what is far more important. Africans would be less than human not to feel humiliated, frustrated and outraged to find what to some of them are "foreigners" and people who did not conquer us and who came here as slaves," lording it over them in the land of their birth. And it is important to remember that Africans and Indians live closer together than Europeans do with either group, and that their relation is not that of master and servant, but of rivals and competitors, of struggling human beings. In such a case to favour one section at the expense of the other, is asking for trouble.

Thus our laws and systems of administration are the main culprits by supressing African political, economical and cultural expression and progress and security (we need only mention housing and passes to show glaring instances). The great question, therefore, is: must it take ugly scenes such as the one under review, to show what the African suffers, thinks and feels or are those in power prepared at last to read the sign on the wall and heed the old Moses-like cry of African leaders, — "Let my people free!"?

"Be Warned" is from the January 21, 1949, issue of *The Sun,* of Capetown, a paper catering especially to the Cape Colored:

During the past few days the world has witnessed one of the worst race riots that has ever taken place between members of different racial groups in South Africa. The causes of the Durban race riots are to be investigated by a judicial commission and it is expected that this body will not only succeed in ferreting out the real causes behind the Durban pogrom, but also be helpful in giving the country a positive lead towards the prevention of further similar occurrences.

It is not for this journal to take sides in the matter and to attempt to cast the blame at the feet of any particular racial group. Rather would it be pertinent for us to warn the Government that its policy of repression and discrimination against the Coloured people has already produced an unbelievably deep sense of resentment and antagonism against the Nationalists.

In the very recent past under the Smuts regime the Coloured people saw signs of their aspirations being achieved. The C.A.C., for example, was a definite step on the road to progress, and as a result of its activities and its recognition by the Government of the day, appreciable improvements in many directions were made, which gave the Coloured people that degree of confidence and that hope in the future which made all the difference in their lives. There was hope that the stringent colour bars in this country would be relaxed in respect of those persons, who had achieved a degree of civilization, culture and development on a par with similar elements in the European population, and although negotiations were still proceeding, there was that expectation that Coloured men and women of ability would be able to reach to the highest that this land could offer.

With the advent of the Nationalist Government all those hopes and aspirations have been dashed to the ground, and the Coloured people have been threatened with disenfranchisement and a separate voters' roll. In other words, there was a complete anti-climax in the lives of the Coloured people, which has led to the existence of a very clear concensus of opinion amongst Coloured persons that they would rather die than be reduced to voiceless chattels in the Nationalists' scheme of things.

From the February, 1949, issue of *Common Sense,* a progressive magazine of Johannesburg, we quote part of the editorial, "Whose Responsibility?"—

Public opinion was shocked, but not nearly shocked enough, by the terror and tragedy that have crippled the Indian community of Durban. It is not an event out of which anybody wants to make political capital. But some papers could not resist the temptation to imply that the Indians themseleves had largely contributed to, if they had not provoked, this outbreak by their commercial conduct toward the Africans. This is a detestable attitude. If the black market and sharp practices generally have prevailed, whose duty was it to discover and stop them? For years past successive Governments have failed to protect the poorest buyers from being overcharged. They cannot now evade the responsibility for this negligence by reproaching the race of one set of storekeepers. Every group in South Africa has its discreditable elements; the difference is that what passes as high finance in one is recognized as low cunning in another and plain theft in the third. . . .

R. S. Nowbath, former editor of *The Indian Leader,* writing in the same issue of *Common Sense,* observes, among other things:

The miracle is that neither Dr. Malan nor his henchman have blamed the Communists yet! Through all this tragedy and unilateral assault the Indian has refused to blame the African. In spite of all the savagery and all the butchering I have heard many Indians, even those who have suffered, say, "I refuse to hate the African. The fault is not his." But there are many who are hysterical and where once they bore no malice and no hate, they today hate fiercely those who brought so much suffering on them. Can you blame them? . . .

Leo Rogers Homes

(*Continued from page* 109)

purpose of the City to fully carry out the intent, meaning and spirit of the law and agreement aforementioned in the conduct and operation of the Leo J. Rogers Homes aforesaid: therefore be it

"Resolved, by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Trenton in the selection of the tenants and occupants of said housing project; in the assignment of apartments in said premises, and in all other matters relating to the aforesaid project the same shall be done and performed without any discrimination or segregation whatsoever, and without any consideration of any kind pertaining to or based upon race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry."

This resolution was signed by Mayor Connolly, Andrew J. Duch, Thos. F. Waldron, and Geo. W. Riker; approved for legal form by Louis Josephson of the City Counsel; and adopted on January 27, 1949.

Negroes are now accepted on an integrated basis in the units of the Leo J. Rogers Homes. Of course, it will take some time for the tenants in the first unit to benefit from the policy of integration, since there must be considerable turnover in tenants before there can be "mixing."

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

W. Harold Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 919

J. R. Booker
Century Building, Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

CALIFORNIA

Geo. R. Vaughns
1027 Adeline St., Oakland 7
Telephone TWinooks 9688

Mathews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews — David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9739—ADams 1-6712

James T. Phillips
33 W. Mountain St., Pasadena 3
Telephone: Sycamore 7-4124

John C. Henderson
1557 — 7th St., Oakland 7
Telephone: TWinoaks 5338

CONNECTICUT

W. Arvey Wood
36 Park Row, Stamford
Telephone: Stamford 3-7037

GEORGIA

Austin T. Walden
428 Herndon Bldg., Atlanta 3
Telephone: Walnut 3536

Thomas J. Henry
208 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta
Telephone: Lamar 4710

ILLINOIS

Loring B. Moore
180 W. Washington St., Chicago 2
Telephone: RANdolph 1094

Ellis & Westbrooks
3000 South State St., Chicago 16
Telephone: CALumet 4968—4969

William Henry Huff
520 E. 35th St., Chicago 16
Telephone: OAK 6749

INDIANA

Charles Quincy Mattocks
427 W. 30th St., Indianapolis 8
Telephone: Wabash 1444

KENTUCKY

Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
602 W. Walnut St., Louisville 3
Telephone: Jackson 6646 & Wabash 4765

MASSACHUSETTS

J. Clifford Clarkson
1597 Main St., Springfield 3
Telephone: 32533

MICHIGAN

Herbert L. Dudley
4256 Russell St., Detroit 7
Telephone: Terrace 2-1934

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Ave., Grand Rapids 2
Telephone: 8-9042 or 8-6795

Smith and Brown
1000 Lawyer's Building
139 Cadillac Square, Detroit 26, Mich.
Telephone: Cadillac 2176

NEW JERSEY

J. Mercer Burrell
23 Howard St., Newark 3
Telephone: MArket 3-4709

Logan W. McWilson
189-191 Halsey St., Newark 2
Telephone: MArket 3-1779

NEW YORK

William T. Garvin
217 West 125th St., New York 27
Telephone: ACademy 2-9260

OHIO

Charles V. Carr
2270 East 55th St., Cleveland 3
Telephone: EXpress 3712-3713

William H. Brooks
120 Hamilton Ave., Columbus 3

Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland 14
Telephone: MAin 1320

Chester K. Gillespie
406 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 14
Telephone: CHerry 1835

PENNSYLVANIA

Herbert R. Cain, Jr.
908 Walnut St., Philadelphia 7
Telephone: Walnut 2-1042

Theodore Spaulding
154 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2
Telephone: LOcust 1317

TEXAS

F. S. K. Whittaker
711 Prairie Ave., Houston 2
Office: F4895; Home: F0853

VIRGINIA

Timothy W. Fisher
Crown Bank Bldg.
Newport News
Telephone: 5-1974

Reuben E. Lawson
403 Gainsboro Rd., N. W., Roanoke
Telephone: 9751

Willmer F. Dillard
330 Gilmer Ave., N. W.
Roanoke 17
Telephone: 2-2608

VIRGIN ISLANDS

William F. Moorhead
Christiansted, St. Croix, V. I.

WEST VIRGINIA

T. G. Nutter
609½ Kanawha Blvd., Charleston 1

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